THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. III, NO. 2 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 10, 1944 NUMBER 1545

Robot Bombs

There is now no doubt that the robot bombs falling on England are an extremely serious matter. The censorship, by refusing to permit publication of the details, is quite possibly making them seem still worse than they are; but even so, there is no doubt that the bombs are causing grave loss of life and material damage. It may turn out that the only effective answer to them is to capture the area around Calais from which most of them are launched. British newspapers are demanding reprisal bombings against German towns, but reprisals may not work and are in any case not a real reply.

There seems no chance whatever that the bombs will affect the course of the war. Nearly all the casualties are among civilians; and even at their worst, the robot bombs are no harder to endure than the blitz. With the Germans falling back on every front, it should not be long before the ordeal of the British is at an end.

The Germans have proved once again, if anyone needed such proof, that they are utter barbarians beyond any appeal of civilization. The robot bomb is a weapon of random murder with no military significance. It is far more savage than our saturation bombing of German cities, which has military purpose and gives civilians a chance to take cover in air-raid shelters. It is incredible folly for the Germans to harden the world's heart against them at this late moment when their final defeat may be only a matter of months.

Storm Warning in Denmark

The most ominous news for Berlin last week must have been the armed uprising of the Danes—more serious even than the triumphant march of the Russians on Minsk and the solid Allied successes in Italy and Normandy. The Germans have evidently been pulling soldiers out of Denmark and Norway to use them on other fronts, and when the Danes learned this, they revolted as they would not have dared to do even a few weeks ago. The general strike has been called off, since the Germans still have great power in Denmark; but that fact does not lessen the significance of what has happened. Everyone has known that the beginning of the end would come when the people of the conquered countries rose against the Nazi tyrants. They are doing just that, not only in Denmark but in France, Italy and doubtless other places as well. It begins to look as though Hitler's doom is not far off.

De Gaulle Rules in France

The French Provisional Government, headed by General de Gaulle, appears to be in complete and unquestioned control of the part of France thus far liberated, at the moment when newspaper reports say that de Gaulle himself is expected in Washington within a few days to visit President Roosevelt. Is this turning over France to the Provisional Government what we intended all the time? If not, why don't we stop it? If it is, why in the name of heaven did we make such difficulties and get ourselves so bitterly hated by every Frenchman who has been able to testify to his

CONTENTS

The Week 27

Editorials

What the Republicans Offer 30
America and Finland 31
Unions, Contracts and the Courts 32

General Articles

Ringside Report . . . . . Bruce Bliven 33
The Nazis at Bay . . . Joseph Rosenfarb 35
What to Do with Germany: I . H. N. Brailsford 36
Medical Care for All Americans . . . . . James E. Murray 39
Reflections of a Soldier . Sgt. Karl R. Korstad 41
Mail Call (Revised) . . Lt. Morton Yarmon 42
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 43
Warners' Boys in the Balkans . Manny Farber 44
A Communication . . . . Jerry Voorhis 44
The Bandwagon 46

Correspondence 47

Books in Review

Mann: From Ur to OPA . . . Harry Levin 49
Death and Transfiguration . Heinz H. F. Eulau 50
Doubly Damned . . . . Carroll Kilpatrick 52
Tomorrow's America . . Ben B. Seligman 53
A Reader's List 53

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1944, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attitude, except the poor traitors of Vichy? This does not look to us like foreign policy; it looks like haphazard, meaningless and discontinuous improvisation.

Dewey and the Tariff

One of the first statements attributed to the Republican presidential candidate was that he favors the reciprocal trade agreements which the Secretary of State strongly supports. If he really does so, he has adopted a position directly contrary to that of the Republican platform. The tariff plank adopted by the convention specifically calls for the ratification of trade treaties by Congress. The heart of the Hull plan is that it delegates to the State Department the power to make tariff agreements without congressional ratification. This permits reduction of tariffs by executive action, and so avoids the log-rolling which inevitably results in increases of duties when specific rates are thrown into the national legislature.

There is more involved here than a difference between the promise of the candidate and the platform which he is pledged to support. One of Mr. Dewey's chief bids for public favor is that whereas there is a feud between President Roosevelt and Congress, he will introduce harmony into the government and end "one-man rule." But the Republican members of Congress have fought the administration on this very issue, and are bent upon recovering the tariff-making power. Mr. Dewey is therefore in a real dilemma; either he must abandon the Hull plan, which is the only practical method of bringing about reasonable tariff reduction, or he must fight his own party, both in and out of Congress.

Hoover's Valedictory

Herbert Hoover is a poor politician and has never been popular since the great depression. In our opinion, however, he has always been better than his party, and is to be blamed not so much for personal deficiencies as for the faults of the interests and the order which he has seen fit to represent. All this holds true of his valedictory speech, delivered to the Republican National Convention. Of course his delivery is always poor, and even the microphones went back on him. The substance of what he said about future international organization was, however, much better than the platform adopted by the convention. Whereas the platform dealt in generalities which might be good or bad according to how they are interpreted, Mr. Hoover was specific, and his recommendations are, in our opinion, good as far as they go.

The best political organization of the world for peace, however, will be of little use in the long run unless it operates in a favorable economic setting. And it is here that the Republican Party, the interests behind it and Mr. Hoover are all weakest. It is not merely that they pay little attention to the positive requirements of international economic organization, but that they favor policies which are directly contrary to those required. In another place we mention the backward-looking tariff plank. Still more serious is a clause which may appear to the casual reader to have no international implications at all—that specifically denouncing deficit financing and the use of fiscal policy as a stabilizing agency. But this is exactly what Great Britain intends to do, and a contrary policy on the part of this country will lead not only to a serious rift between the two nations but to economic isolation of the United States and to the serious depressions which help to breed dictatorships and war.

At Bretton Woods

Both President Roosevelt and Secretary Morgenthau used the opening of the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods to answer the economic isolationists in this country. As we pointed out last week, this group, which is supported by the powerful New York Times, among other organs, wants the United States to go its own way in monetary matters regardless of what happens elsewhere. In general, it wants dear money and a firm return to gold, even though we continue to bury it wastefully at Fort Knox.

The President said that ability to succeed at Bretton Woods will be a test of the willingness of the Allies "to coöperate in peace as we have in war." He indicated that this is the first of a series of United Nations conferences dealing with various subjects, which are intended to create "a dynamic and soundly expanding" world economy after the war. Mr. Morgenthau took the bull by the horns and denied that the United States is being asked to do anything against our own interest, or out of line with our traditions. He said that "the purpose is very simple, wholly within the American tradition and completely outside political considerations. . . . [This country] can have vigorous trade only if currencies are stable, if money keeps its value and if people can buy and sell with the certainty that the money they receive on due date will have the value contracted for—hence the first proposal, the stabilization fund.

"With values secured and held stable, it is next desirable to promote worldwide reconstruction, revive normal trade and make funds available for sound enterprises, all of which in turn call for American products—hence the second proposal, for the bank for reconstruction and development." Mr. Morgenthau, in a phrase that deserves to be remembered, added that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible.

It is worth emphasizing that The New York Times, in its attitude on this question, speaks for a small handful of bankers and against the interest of the great mass of the people in the United States, Great Britain

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and every other country affected. The arrogance of this group was illustrated when The Times not long ago practically ordered the British not to adopt the Woolton Plan for a compensatory economy. If the people of this country can be brought to understand the issues involved, we are confident that they will stand with the President and Mr. Morgenthau in working for an intelligent postwar coöperation for prosperity as well as peace.

Are Soldiers Citizens?

Some soldiers may be able to penetrate the barbed-wire entanglements separating them from the chance to vote in the fall elections, but it begins to look as if they would be denied the information available to ordinary citizens helpful in making up their minds for what candidates to cast their ballots. Not only are the most innocent books bearing on the political history of this country being denied them by army censorship—such as a biography of Mr. Justice Holmes and Charles A. Beard's recent book on the Republic—but current political news is kept out of their reading matter, or so watered down as to be almost meaningless. This is in sharp contrast to the British army's excellent program for political education in the armed forces.

The fault seems to lie partly with Congress and partly with the army's bureaucratic timidity. Congress has laid a ban on partisan material, and is eager to detect the slightest effort to influence soldiers' votes; indeed the Republicans and reactionary Democrats would be better pleased if soldiers did not vote at all. The army is leaning over backward in the attempt to avoid any possible occasion for congressional censure. As a result, both deserve the censure of soldiers themselves and of all democratic Americans.

Poletti Purges Fascists

Judging from its previous utterances, the Department of State and other authorities on international affairs in Washington must be both amazed and perturbed by the recent activities of our representative in Rome, Mr. Charles Poletti. When accused of retaining Fascists in positions of governmental power after Italian territory was liberated, these worthies have said that it was necessary to retain some local government that could keep order, and impossible to find the necessary officials without retaining Fascists. This philosophy has been widely applied, from Badoglio down. But Mr. Poletti has apparently been doing the impossible in Rome. Civil authorities with the taint of Fascist affiliation have been discovered and ousted, but still anarchy has not reigned.

Undoubtedly the reason is to be found in Mr. Poletti's background. As Lieutenant Governor of New York, he was a liberal democrat, a man who would sympathize with the people's aspirations anywhere. He also can speak the language and find his way about in Italian politics. What has seemed impossible to the State Department is therefore natural and easy for him. What has been lacking in other instances has been the will and the ability to make contact with democratic forces in Italy. It would be well for the reputation of this country in Europe if there were more Polettis in its service.

Negroes May Have Houses

The New York City Council deserves applause for passing a law to the effect that there shall be no racial discrimination in leasing apartments in housing projects under the public-housing plan, which receive tax exemption. There should be no racial discrimination in housing anywhere, but certainly the city cannot be a party to it in a project which receives any form of public subsidy. That this is not an academic question is shown by the controversy which has arisen over just this issue in the case of a large housing project recently approved.

It is unfortunate that the matter was ever allowed to reach the stage of public debate, because whenever it does so it is bound to be magnified. The problem was much better handled some years ago in Pittsburgh, where in a large public-housing project no policy was announced, but when both Negroes and whites applied for dwelling spaces, the applicants were asked if they objected to neighbors of the other color. Many did not, and these were mingled. Those who did were given separate locations. There has never been any trouble as a result; since the tenants were satisfied, others could hardly object.

Drawing by M. Bernstein. Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications and reprinted by courtesy of PM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Disaster to the OPA

The price-control bill which the President has just signed is about 50 percent of a major disaster. It will do great harm to such price control as we now have. On the surface, it would seem as though friends of vigorous enforcement had won a victory in that the efforts of Bankhead and some of his colleagues to push through amendments designed to puncture established price ceilings on various commodities were either defeated outright or fairly successfully compromised. But although the OPA's authority to impose price ceilings remains practically intact, its power to bring about compliance with them has been seriously undermined. As CIO President Philip Murray pointed out: "The price-control bill approved by the Conference Committee will enforce neither prices nor rents, because it cannot be enforced." For the new law, among other things, allows the violator to challenge the validity of the OPA regulations at any time, to plead innocence on the ground that he did not "willfully" violate the rules, and to demand and get a stay of proceedings at any stage in the prosecution. In the hearings on this bill, OPA officials repeatedly testified that price enforcement, in the face of any such legal restrictions as these, "would not be possible." We shall be lucky if the new law does not bring a serious increase in prices and dangerous steps toward inflation. If so, we shall see a new wave of strikes for wage increases to match the increase in the cost of living.

Mr. Hanighen Was Wrong

Frank Hanighen, a well known writer on politics and economics, said last March that Churchill would resign by June and the new head of the British government would be Sir John Anderson. He didn't, and it isn't.

Wallace for Vice President

Writing in The Nation, I. F. Stone says a group of men in Washington is trying to get the Democratic vice-presidential nomination away from Mr. Wallace and give it to Supreme Court Justice Douglas or, alternatively, Speaker Sam Rayburn of the House of Representatives. This group, according to Mr. Stone, is headed by Tom Corcoran and includes Joe Kennedy and Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. Mr. Stone does not say whether Mr. Justice Douglas knows of this plan, and we assume that he does not.

Stone believes that Mr. Roosevelt is firmly for Wallace, and other published reports in the past few days have said the same thing. We take it for granted that the President's word is law, and we certainly hope nothing will intervene to prevent the renomination of Mr. Wallace. He is, with the retirement of Senator Norris, by all odds the outstanding American progressive, and one of the two or three most distinguished men of our time. Today, with the President preoccupied by war, Mr. Wallace's is the one clear voice for liberalism to be heard in any high place in Washington.

A Gallup Poll among those favoring a Democratic administration recently gave Mr. Wallace 46 percent of the total, equaling the votes of the next three candidates combined, and only 8 points short of all other candidates combined. Mr. Hull had 21 percent; Jim Farley, 13; Rayburn, 12; Byrnes, 5; and Byrd, 3. We feel it would be a tragedy for the Democratic Party to yield to the Southern reactionaries, particularly in a year which begins to look more and more like another Roosevelt landslide. For Vice President: Henry A. Wallace of Iowa.

What the Republicans Offer

TO A NATION engrossed in a war on three fronts and facing a massive task of organizing the peace, the Republicans have offered for leadership a young Governor who was once a good prosecutor, an older Governor who balanced the state budget, a patched-up, contradictory and evasive platform and the slogan of kicking out the weary old bureaucrats and bringing in the efficient young men.

The two running-mates, Governor Dewey and Governor Bricker, are a study in contrast only in the sense that they present different facets of reaction. Dewey is a smooth reactionary, nimble-footed in his tactics, streamlined on the surface. He has never fought the Old Guard on an important issue, but the very quality he has shown of caring more for personal ambition and power than for principles makes the Old Guard distrust him somewhat. Bricker is a bumbling reactionary who would be the willing instrument of big capital and—judging from the lunatic isolationist fringe that surrounded his campaign—something potentially even more dangerous. The dislike of the two men for each other is, however, less important than the fact that neither of them offers the slightest breath of the liberal outlook which has marked President Roosevelt's whole career, nor of the militant integrity which Willkie has recently shown and men like Wallace, Ickes and Norris have always had.

The greatest agony the Republicans will have will be one of a choice not between principles but between strategies. That is the meaning of the present struggle for control within the party between the Dewey wing under Herbert Brownell as new National Committee chairman, and the Bricker-Taft-McCormick wing under the new vice-chairman, Werner W. Schroeder. The first wants to play the campaign safe, stay clear of the war issue and follow a line on the postwar issue which will not too deeply offend either the isolationists or the internationalists. The second wants to pin the war blame

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on President Roosevelt and go all out on a crusade for "nationalism"—which means isolationism in foreign policy and reaction in domestic. One would guess that the more moderate counsels of the Dewey wing would prevail—if it were not for the fact that in the progress of any losing campaign, the desperate and extremist positions generally displace the cautious and canny ones.

It is too early to tell how the voting strength of the country will line up as the campaign proceeds, but at present the Republicans do not have much hope of victory. The biggest factors in their favor are three: first, only a small percentage of the soldiers' vote is likely to be cast under existing state procedures; second, the movement of war workers from one area to another may cut into the labor vote; third, the Republicans may be able to capitalize on the aches and pains of wartime regulations and controls. Besides these there is always the possibility that the Electoral College conspiracy in Texas and Mississippi may go through and a close election be thrown into the House of Representatives.

But the calculations against the Republicans seem stronger—even without the soldiers' vote. The recent Democratic primaries have shown impressive results in getting out the labor vote, and the Republican platform has alienated the AFL leaders as well as the CIO. Even more important is the fact that the Republican candidates are unlikely to get the sizable independent vote of those who are conservatives in domestic policy but who are wholeheartedly behind President Roosevelt's conduct of the war, and are internationalist as they face the postwar period. The only articulate spokesman for this group thus far has been Wendell Willkie. The hostility of the convention to him, the selection of Bricker as Dewey's running-mate and the direct slap the Dewey forces gave him by accepting Schroeder as vice-chairman are not likely to win the support of Willkie and his followers. Roosevelt may therefore be able to count on a substantial slice of the independent Republican vote.

It is clear by now that the President will again—and for the last time—be the Democratic nominee. Vice President Wallace has also a strong chance to succeed himself on the ticket, despite the efforts of various groups in Washington to scuttle him in order to appease the Southerners. The President is likely to stand on his record which, despite justified criticisms that have been made of it in detail, is in the large an unsurpassed one.

He saw the country through a depression and restored it to a substantial measure of economic health. He carried through the greatest program of gradual but progressive social reforms that our history can show, and did it without bringing the nation to civil war. He guided the country skillfully through the period of the Great Debate over foreign policy, when the problem was to give effective aid to Britain and Russia and mobilize our strength until the people should be unified enough to take active part in the war. Once we were at war he made concessions when concessions were necessary, always putting first things first—the organization of our armed forces and the war economy. He has been the directing will behind the firm United Nations coalition of America, Britain, Russia and China. And while his foreign policy in the wake of our armies has seemed to us to lack a democratic militancy, the alternative of Dewey and Bricker even in this respect would be far worse.

We have tried to set down here not only our own perspectives but the deep mood of the large majority of Americans. The President will not have to wage an active campaign because the people will judge him by what he has done and is doing in winning the war, holding the United Nations together, and preparing for the difficult tasks of the postwar period. In contrast the Republicans offer candidates who did not see the war coming, who never made a commitment on its great moral issues, who have not the slightest experience in either national or world affairs, and whose utterances are double-talk when they are not worse.

We are certain that Americans will not find such an offering adequate.

America and Finland

MOST AMERICANS are badly troubled in their minds about Finland. We have always liked the Finns, not merely because they failed to default on their debt of the early postwar period, but because we have regarded them as one of the Scandinavian group, practitioners of "the middle way" between socialism and unrestrained private capitalism. In the Russo-Finnish war the sympathies of nearly all Americans were with Finland on the David-Goliath analogy. Until very recently most people here probably felt that the Finns had been caught in the pincers between Germany and Russia, and were not to be blamed too much for their conduct.

Any such notions, however, must now come to an end. No doubt there are large numbers of Finns who are genuine democrats; but they have failed to get control of their government and must now take the consequences. There is no reason which any decent man in Finland or elsewhere can respect, why the Russian peace offer of a few weeks ago should not have been accepted. Instead, it is perfectly clear that the fascist-dominated Finnish government conspired with Germany for a fake occupation of the country, having stalled the Allies for time to make this possible. An American correspondent in Helsinki says the German occupying troops are mostly boys and old men, badly clothed and equipped. They should not long delay the advance of the Russian armies which have been push-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing back the Finns and this week completely cleared the Murmansk-Leningrad railway.

Our own break with Finland was foreshadowed by our dismissal of Minister Procope. There is no doubt that Procope had made himself an Axis listening post in this country. He was also the social darling of the isolationists and appeasers, as proved by the anguished howls over his treatment from the Patterson-McCormick newspapers. Finland will now have to pass through deep humiliation and suffering; it will be a long time before she is accepted again into the society of free nations.

Unions, Contracts and the Court

IMPORTANT NEW GROUND has been broken by the Supreme Court in a group of recent cases, most of them coming up on appeal from rulings of the National Labor Relations Board. These decisions, while they deal primarily with labor, also contain significant precedents for anybody who, as a third party, is affected one way or the other by the terms of a contract.

Henceforth, an employer who has signed a collective-bargaining agreement with the union may not, thereafter, bargain separately with individual employees, even though they profess themselves to be willing to waive the benefits of the union contract. The same rule holds even before that union contract has been made, if negotiations looking toward it are under way. Indeed, the employer is actually forbidden to enforce an individual contract made before the negotiations with the union started, provided that the individual contract impairs the applicability of the subsequent bargain with the union.

Furthermore, if the majority in any plant chooses a specified union to bargain for it, and then changes its mind, this does not justify the employer in a persistent refusal to deal with that union. The correct procedure in such a case would be for a new union to enter the field, obtain a majority, notify the NLRB that it demands an election, and start negotiations with the employer after the election had sustained its claim to represent the majority.

These new rulings will seem to many, at first glance, a serious impairment of the freedom of the individual. We don't doubt that Westbrook Pegler and Sewell Avery turn purple at the mere thought of them. But in fact, they do no more than recognize the new times into which we have moved. For the truth is that collective-bargaining agreements are contracts, and unions are agents, only in a limited sense. When workers are represented by a union, the relationship is not in reality a private and contractual one, but is public and political.

Union officials represent the majority workers in a plant in about the same sense in which village or county officials represent their constituents, and not as an ordinary agent represents an ordinary, single principal. Disapproval or lack of confidence can be manifested only through the orderly political processes of revocation of responsibility and reëlection, not through a simple withdrawal of delegated powers—of a village, for example—by a majority of its inhabitants. A contract signed by an unorganized majority of the workers would no more be a collective-bargaining agreement than a bond signed by a majority of the inhabitants of a village would be a "municipal bond" with a cash value in the market.

In short, a collective-bargaining agreement is in its essence a regulation and not a contract. The union does not promise to work nor does the employer promise to pay the union wages. The union bargains not only on behalf of its present members, but for future employees, whether union members or not. The fact that the union can bind a dissenting minority proves the political and regulatory nature of the process involved.

Does freedom thus disappear from the field of labor relations? To a certain extent, yes, just as it has disappeared from other fields. In these, individual bargaining has given way in favor of fixed railroad rates, fixed public-utility charges, fixed provisions of insurance policies, fixed terms for leases. Such a change is inevitable in a society where mass production of uniform goods calls for mass production of uniform contracts for individual workers. To be sure, not every union contract will be completely fair, any more than every railroad rate or public-utility charge. But the prospective participants can reject a proposed contract; they can from time to time dismiss the union representatives who, they think, are doing a bad job on their behalf. Political procedure is always a choice between evils; but the evils to be found in modern union procedure are certainly enormously less than those under complete open-shop conditions, when the individual worker must bargain all alone against an employer who holds every conceivable advantage.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ringside Report

THIS IS A REPORT on the Chicago convention of the Republican Party. I did not like the convention, either as to the platform adopted or the candidates selected, but I shall try to make my account of it as moderate as I can. There is always, it seems to me, too much needless vituperation in American politics, and it becomes more inappropriate than ever in the midst of a war for the preservation of this republic.

The chief news of this convention is that the conservative wing of the GOP is now pretty firmly in the saddle. True, some of the more extreme Republican tories are opposed to Mr. Dewey on the ground that he is "too liberal"; they would have considered Bricker or Warren or Taft a safer man, and they took Dewey only because they had to. But these extremists are beyond reason. In general, the convention represented a viewpoint far to the right of center. Governor Dewey, in my judgment, represents a similar viewpoint, as will be seen when and if his attitude on various questions becomes known. The convention was one to break the heart of Wendell Willkie and of all other progressive Republicans. I don't see how Mr. Willkie, without doing damage to his own conscience, can support a man and a platform that stand for the negation of everything he holds most important in American public life.

Mr. Dewey's is not a personality that inspires affection among strangers; the delegates took him because they hadn't any choice, because his political work and that of his aides for years past had been extremely intelligent and skillful, on the level of machine politics. Under these circumstances no one can accept at face value his statement in his acceptance speech:

> That I have not sought this responsibility, all of you know. I told the people of my state, two years ago, that it was my intention to devote my full time as Governor exclusively to their service. You have decided otherwise. In accordance with the principles of our republican form of government you have laid upon me the highest duty to which an American can be called. No one has a right to refuse such a call.

This is a dreadful piece of hypocrisy. Call, hell! Nobody called Mr. Dewey, except himself. That was an echo you heard, Governor.

After three days in this vast and reverberating building, in smothering heat, with batteries of searchlights blinding everyone as they were turned on and off incessantly for no discernible reason, with floods of campaign oratory booming through the loudspeakers and going out over the radio to everyone who has forgotten how to turn a button to the left—after all this, the Republican pattern is clear. The high command believes that the country is in a mood of reaction. They hope to capitalize on all the resentments caused by rationing, shortages and other wartime hardships, and vote Roosevelt out instead of voting Dewey in. Well, we shall see.

The Platform.—Even Mr. Dewey admitted in a press interview that the platform was the result of many compromises; and that fact was obvious to everybody who waded through it. As usual, it was full of mutually incompatible appeals to various groups and interests. As The New York Times pointed out, the platform condemned centralized federal power and "excessive regulation"; yet its promises to farmers would require an enormous bureaucracy. Again, as to foreign trade it called for protective tariffs and at the same time advocated the removal of "unnecessary and destructive barriers of international trade." These two promises are not only in head-on collision with each other, but in passing, they sideswipe the Republicans' favorite doctrine of less government in business, and hands off "free enterprise."

The platform pledged that wage and price ceilings would be broken, without saying that these actions would wait until the end of the war. Whether this was clumsy writing, or an attempt to promise rewards to the greedy even before victory, I don't know. John L. Lewis is believed to have dictated the phrases about permitting wages to go up, and John certainly wants that action now.

As everyone has commented, the plank on international policy and especially on keeping the peace, was very mild. It was so mild in fact that even The Chicago Tribune did not object. It is perfectly apparent that if Dewey is elected he will do what then seems best to him about international matters, regardless of platform pledges, just as all previous Presidents have done. Everyone who was here at Chicago knows that the mood of much of the party is dangerously isolationist. Mr. Bricker is a spokesman for this wing. Dewey himself was in it until a few months ago, when he decided that, at least politically and temporarily, the wind was blowing the other way.

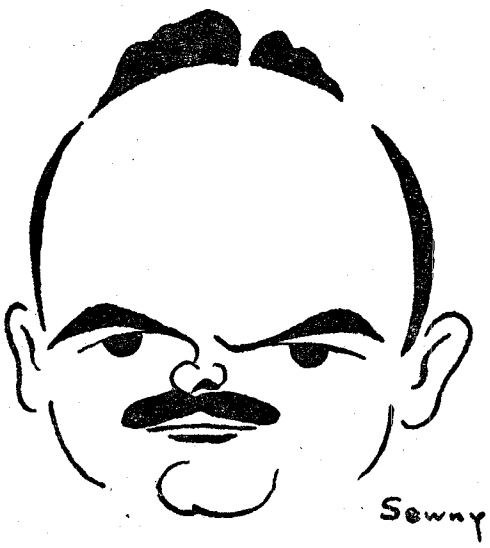
My favorite individual plank in the platform was the one on medicine, which called for:

> The stimulation by federal aid of state plans to make medical and hospital service available to those in need, without disturbing doctor-patient relationship or socializing medicine.

I'll wager that even Dr. Morris Fishbein is unable to explain what that one means.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Bricker for a Warren. – In exchanging Warren for Bricker, it is pretty well admitted that the Republicans went downhill. They needed California and the West in general more than they needed Ohio, and Warren is a better man. I don't know why the Californian came to the convention, as he obviously did, in a mood to accept the vice-presidential nomination and then changed his mind toward the end of the second day. Some of the newspapermen believe he looked over the chances, decided Dewey was sure to be defeated, and planned to save himself for '48.



Governor Bricker earned a moment of pathos for himself when he renounced the presidential ambition which had been consuming him, and agreed to be the large dull tail to Dewey's rather small dull kite. It was patent that the convention liked him better than it did Mr. Dewey, simply because he is the sort of big, open-faced, simple-minded politician so familiar in American life. By comparison, Mr. Dewey seems somehow a little sinister and mysterious. Bricker has been called "an honest Harding," and except that I know nothing about his honesty, one way or the other, I should think the appellation apt. In his press conferences he makes boners so horrendous that the newspapermen are barely able to keep a straight face. If he is elected he ought to be in the glorious Throttlebottom tradition; if anything were to happen to Dewey—but there, let's not start imagining things.

Middle-Class Party. – The Republicans are the party of the middle class, in excelsis. True, they do their best to court labor, in a kindly way, for electioneering purposes only; they say nice things to the Negro, and their platform contains an excellent passage in favor of a permanent FEPC (though the Republicans in Congress have done precious little by their votes to end racial discrimination). But it is all rather like the president of the company dancing with the girls from the cannery at the employees' annual outing, to show what a good, democratic fellow he is at heart. It was a piece of beautiful symbolism that the only county in the United States, so far as I could learn, to have its own special headquarters was Westchester County, New York, home of the country club, the paradise of the $25,000-a-year white-collar worker. In the hotel lobbies, the conversation among delegates was on a rather rich and fruity level. Any lady present was the president of the Red Cross and Junior League, not merely a member; any gentleman, if not a banker himself, knew a lot of bankers by their first names.

Luce Talk. – Representative Clare Booth Luce of Connecticut addressed the convention and tried to make political capital out of America's war dead.

I do not think I care to comment on the speech by Mrs. Luce.

Beautiful but Dumb. – An unintentional bit of symbolism was to be found in the numerous pretty girls who were hired—from a professional model agency, so it is said—to work in the Dewey headquarters, handing out badges. Most of these girls obviously did not have a political idea in their lovely heads. One or two, a columnist reported, admitted under questioning that they were Democrats. They were there to be beautiful, and for nothing else. Mr. Dewey himself has been under the charge of being too good-looking; I think it was pretty brave of him to run the risk of having the comparison filled out.

Speedy Transmission of Zero. – Every great political convention impresses one afresh with the fact that the facilities for getting things said are bigger and better than what anybody has to say. Here were the booths of the radio broadcasting companies, the walkie-talkies on the backs of perspiring newscasters, the public-address system which amplified into thunder everything anyone wished to say and a few things not intended for the public ear. The techniques were perfect, but the substance left something to be desired. As usual, the hard-working, almost entirely anonymous reporters of the press associations did all the real work, while everybody else bought late editions of the Chicago papers or listened on the radio and rewrote what the wire-service men had painstakingly found out.

In Memory of Bataan. – There was one touch of real and poignant symbolism at the convention, of which you have already heard. Where there should have been the delegation from the Philippine Islands there was only a tall standard carrying a memorial wreath in memory of Bataan. As far as I know, it was the single genuine piece of inspiration in the whole dull proceeding. If it had been accompanied, across the aisle, by a similar memorial wreath to the hopes and aspirations of the liberal Republicans, the whole thing would have been perfect.

Chicago BRUCE BLIVEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nazis at Bay

As the Allied offensive against Germany gathers momentum both in the eastern and western theatres of war, Mr. Churchill's venture that the war might be over this summer should be echoed in many hearts with a hope and a prayer, but hardly a conviction. It is true of course that the Allies, as the stronger side, have captured and will now retain to the end the strategic initiative. But the Germans do not appear to be so far gone that they have nothing to say as to when and how the war will be over.

Decisive in this regard is not primarily the will of the masses but the will of the ruling elite which is in possession of the instruments of power. Even on the assumption, which is certainly doubtful, that there is a strong underground movement in Germany with popular support, it is difficult to see how unarmed masses can effectively usurp power from the armed might of the Nazis and the army. Only those can surrender who are in control of the state and military machine. But why should Hitler and the party chieftains want to surrender now, even though it must be clear to them that Germany cannot win? They would surrender only if by doing so they could obtain terms which would permit them to remain intact and to retain the sources from which their future control could be forged. The same can be said of the other elements of the German condominium—the army and the industrialists. Even if the two latter would like to surrender now to avoid further destruction of the German economic potential, there still remains the problem: how can they escape the pervasive power of the Gestapo to organize a successful putsch?

It is clear that the German rulers cannot obtain terms which will induce them to surrender voluntarily, unless Allied solidarity is broken. Despite the Polish boundary dispute, relations among the United States, Great Britain and Russia are on a better plane than ever before. Stalin's unstinted praise of our successful invasion of the Continent is proof sufficient that the one great stumbling block to close Allied coöperation in the waging of the war has been removed. The Germans think the coming American elections may create a fissure in the Allied common front. With the Republican Party in power, they hope that heavy American casualty lists might give the needed impetus to those social forces which could bring about a negotiated peace short of unconditional surrender. This could be camouflaged in all the trappings of reasonableness and humanity. Who can deny that even now there are strong social forces in America favoring that course? Have the Republican convention, platform, candidates, and the short shrift accorded to Willkie's ideas, served to dissipate the conviction created by the Republican record that that party is the instrument and refuge of these social forces? I believe that in their calculations the Nazis are mistaken, but I am exercising an act of faith and hope.

To frustrate the German hope of a negotiated peace, we shall have to defeat the German armies in great and severe fighting. Even in the last war, when the Prussian army Junkerdom had no Nazi party as a rival or partner, it surrendered after, not before, military defeat, even though it is true that Germany was not yet invaded. When the great German summer offensive in 1918 fizzled, Ludendorff, several weeks before the Armistice, urged the Kaiser to accept any terms lest the utter defeat and helplessness of the German armies, so well concealed, should become apparent to the Allies. In this war, too, surrender will succeed, not precede, decisive defeat.

The political aim of the German power to make the Allied victory as long delayed and as costly as possible, in the hope of obtaining a negotiated peace, furnishes the key to an understanding of German military strategy. War is an instrument of policy. Such a policy of course would not call for all-out concentrations to defeat the Allied invasion and thereby risk a precipitate and decisive failure, but for resistance at the beaches with limited forces to impede and delay the Allied advance. In addition to the ever present danger which the Germans must face, of our outflanking a Nazi counter-attack against our Normandy beachhead, this policy may have been a controlling reason why no all-out counter-attack has taken place. It is of signal importance that the Germans have not used extensively their tactical air force to repel the invasion, which they would have done in an all-out effort, despite its depleted state. It is only now that reports are coming through that the Germans are beginning to make use of their tactical air power in the land fighting around Caen. Reliance upon land fighting only to impede the Allied advance, might obviate the possibility of rapid dissipation of forces in futile counter-attacks. In the land fighting, the Germans might be in a position to rely upon the great lines of fortifications supposed to exist between Germany and France as further aids to the strategy of trading miles for blood and time.

German reliance on space as its main investment to purchase time is best indicated by the Nazis' insistence on defending to the limit everything their armies have occupied. The armies in far-off Finland have just been strengthened. Their troops are dispersed in the Baltic states and in the Balkans, though these could more profitably be employed nearer to Germany to block the Russian advance in White Russia and Poland. In order to retain everything as long as possible, the German

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

High Command is willing to leave large garrisons in fortified places to die or to be captured.

But the German strategy of attempting to hold on to everything defeats its own purpose. The dispersal of the already depleted and outnumbered German forces, particularly in the east, means that German defenses are linear, thin, lacking in depth and therefore incapable of strong, decisive counter-attacks. An Allied attack concentrated at some vulnerable point where it greatly outnumbers the defending forces might effect a break-through which could become fatal. Are we witnessing this type of phenomenon in the current Russian attack around Minsk? In relying upon interspersed strong points or "hedgehogs" to slow down the Russian advance, the Germans would seem to be committing a grave error. Fortifications, to be effective in impeding an enemy, must be situated near marshlands, mountains or water, or be connected by fortified lines. This was the case in the last war, and its truth has been proved again in this one.

No such swift advance is to be expected in the west, at least not for a while. It should take us several weeks at least before our offensive reaches the peak of its momentum. We need that time to rebuild harbor installations, to transport the men and material, to establish depots, to lay out airfields and to deploy our troops in a large enough area for maneuver. Then again, as already indicated, the more compact and built-up areas of the west may afford greater opportunity to establish continuous fortified lines. A consideration of all these factors would indicate other landings by the Allies, particularly if the Germans succeed in penning up our forces in the Norman peninsula.

It is altogether probable that no more than 25 percent of the Allied total strength both in the east and in the west is now in action. When we are in a position to employ anywhere near our full power in concentric simultaneous attacks on the Germans, they will not be able to take advantage of their interior lines of communication to shift troops from one sector to another. They will be in danger everywhere and Allied strategic air power will make rapid German communications improbable. Wherever the break-through occurs, the road to Berlin will have been paved by the Allied common effort. That common effort will have to break the backbone of German resistance before the will to resist is overcome. Any other way to end the war can only be at the expense of total victory by concessions to those who would then be in a position to plan and work for Germany's third attempt to obtain domination of the world.

JOSEPH ROSENFARB

What to Do with Germany

I. *Allied Military Government or Revolution?*

IF A RADICAL CHANGE in her class structure is necessary before Germany can become a loyal member of the European family, are we to use our military power to dictate it? It would be easy to justify such a surgical operation by the law of self-preservation.

There are, however, reasons which tell against dictation. Nationalism is a barbaric anachronism in this modern world; but it is not yet a spent force. If measures of socialization were imposed on German heavy industry by external force, they would provoke a reaction fierce enough to wreck them. To convince the Germans that a good motive inspired them would be difficult, so long as we leave our own ruling class in possession of its broad acres and key industries. A revolutionary army which swept across Europe preaching its own ideas as it marched, could do this thing. The men of 1793 did it to the tune of the "Marseillaise," but they had first deposed their feudal class at home. Armies which fight to preserve "traditional England" and "the American way of life" cannot do it.

The architects of British and American policy mean to destroy the Nazi system and the Nazi Party, but it will be no part of their purpose to further any change in the German class structure, and still less to impose it. It is significant that a leading banker of the City of London, Lord Rennell of Rodd, was chosen as head of the AMG in Sicily. His two lieutenants held between them directorships in seventeen companies.

What we may expect in Germany and elsewhere is, then, that the right of the peoples to self-determination will be recognized in formal terms, subject to the reservation that the restoration of a regime of the Nazi type would not be tolerated. During the military occupation, representatives of London, Washington and presumably of Moscow also will wield dictatorial powers. At some stage they will have to recognize a provisional German government. This means, within certain limits, that they will select a government by rejecting any administration of which they disapprove. They can, again within certain limits, determine the character of this government by adjusting the peace terms to its complexion. At every stage they can exert pressure by dealing out raw materials and credits with a liberal or niggardly hand. They can in this way grant or deny the right to work; which means that, for a time at least, they can shape a starving and helpless Continent as they please. This looks like omnipotence, until we notice that the Creator is a Trinity. It is easy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to forecast the main tendencies of Anglo-American policy. Russia has as yet disclosed her policy only in certain details affecting war criminals and indemnities. Whether she has decided views affecting other aspects of the German settlement we do not yet know. It is reasonably certain that she has no thought of promoting a communistic revolution.

The probability is, then, that the forces most strongly entrenched in London and Washington will try to preserve the class structure of Germany, and indeed of Europe, much as it was. This is a fatal policy, which will once again, after a restless interval of uncertain length, set going the *perpetuum mobile* of war. One thing must be said now and with emphasis: It is the duty of the labor movements of Britain and America to use all their influence, in public and behind the scenes, singly, jointly and in concert with the Russians, to prevent the use of these tremendous powers against those Germans who may strive to bring about a healthier balance of forces in their own country. A social revolution in Germany is the indispensable condition of European peace. If the Left is not strong enough to impose on the Allied governments a positively helpful attitude toward the struggling pioneers of renovation, then let it use all its strength to remove hindrances from their path.

It is the policy of the United Nations, as Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt announced at Casablanca, to insist on the unconditional surrender of the enemy. This unfortunate phrase stands in need of interpretation. If it means that the Allies will not negotiate either with Hitler or his lieutenants, all of us are agreed. Our concern is not for them, nor for that corrupt part of the German people which shared their creed and served their ambitions. Our concern is solely for the better elements which gladly would throw off their yoke, if an honorable way were open to them. To negotiate with these elements may be impossible, for they are not yet in control of the enemy's armies or territory, and it cannot be assumed that they will be able to carry out, now or hereafter, a successful revolution. None the less, it may be in their power to undermine the hold of the Nazis over the armies and the civil population, to lessen their capacity to fight on.

This they will do only if they believe that the victory of the United Nations can prepare the way for a tolerable future. A manly people will surrender unconditionally only if it is reduced to the last crust and the last cartridge, or if it has reason to trust the fair intentions of its enemies.

Is it really beneath our dignity to define our intentions? If we do not intend to carve up and alienate territory which unquestionably is German, is there any reason why this should not be said with authority? If it is not our purpose to exclude the German people from the economic future summed up in the phrase, "freedom from want," which we have in view for the rest of mankind, ought we not to say so? If we propose to disarm the Germans permanently, must they be left to draw the inference that they will always be a subject people which must submit without appeal to the dictation of our armed empires? To us these may seem unnecessary questions: we may feel sure that Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt will act in accordance with the political sagacity that belongs to our tradition. But Germans who have been subjected through ten years to an intensive propaganda which vilified our leaders, our national character, our past history and our present policy will feel less sure. It would be unwise at this stage to issue any detailed program; what is required is a statement in general terms, yet definite enough and plain enough to dissipate the graver fears that will induce not the worst but the best Germans to prolong the struggle to the last round.

We have now to face the difficult questions that hinge on the armistice and the occupation. Much turns on whether the armies that invade Germany advance simultaneously from more than one quarter. Will the victorious Red Army play the major part in the invasion and the occupation; if so, will the three Allied governments and their High Commands act harmoniously on principles accepted in advance?

When the certainty of defeat faces the Germans, they will break into several sections, which will react each in its own way. The Nazis have intensified the terror, with Himmler in the seat of authority. In the last months of crisis the strategical keys to German politics will be in his hands, so long as he commands the Pretorian Guard, the SS. There can be no revolution of the masses while its ranks hold together. A revolution, whatever its color, can begin only after the regular Reichswehr, which has always disliked the Party's gendarmerie, has destroyed it in pitched battles. This will not be easy, for the Waffen SS is a picked, mechanized force, with its panzer divisions. The paradox follows that if ever the Germans are to win democracy by their own efforts, the army, while it is still a disciplined force, must strike the first blow under some of its generals.

Moscow, which understands the technique of revolution and does not fear it, has done its best to utilize any chance there may be of promoting it, by setting up a National Committee for a Free Germany and publishing a manifesto which bade every soldier choose between the destruction of Germany if they followed Hitler to the end, and a peace, won by revolution, which would restore her to an equal place among the nations.

The tactics of the Western powers in the use of the political weapon have fallen behind Marshal Stalin's in sagacity. We are left reflecting, after his independent essay, on the vastly greater chance there would have been of a successful revolution, if Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had acted with him. The alternative

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to a revolution is the direct government of Germany by a military administration of the Allies. But she presents problems, above all economic problems, so complex that inevitably help and advice will have to be sought from some Germans. Which Germans?

On the assumption that no revolutionary movement succeeds, the invading armies, as the power of the Nazis collapses, will enter a country in which no alternative center of social cohesion exists. The omnipotent Party controlled everything and ran everything, from the ministries in the capital down to the food-rationing office in every village. Nothing was non-political. Everything was staffed with Nazis or with persons wholly subservient to them and everything, including the code and the courts of law, was impregnated with Nazi ideas. This vast and intricate machine, centralized as never before, rested not at all on the respect it commanded, but on the terror its apparatus of coercion inspired, aided by propaganda. When it collapses amid the execrations of its victims, it will not be easy to avert chaos. What organizations can step in to give cohesion, confidence and discipline to the people? Trade unions there are none, nor elected municipalities. Whatever foreign soldiers may be able to do, they cannot supply leadership.

What, then, can be suggested? The Weimar Republic left behind it a civilized body of legislation and a humane criminal code. It is not seriously out of date and is familiar to all but the youngest generation. Subject to any necessary exceptions or temporary modifications, it should be restored as the law of the land, until a free Germany can work out a new Constitution. To make of Germany once more a *Rechtstaat*, a state founded on law, is the chief service we can render to her citizens. This, we may feel sure, is their most ardent wish.

The more difficult problem remains of discovering honest and public-spirited men, free from the stains of the past decade, who can supply leadership and act as political officials under the military authority. Many such men were in prisons or concentration camps, and some of them may still be alive and capable of active service. It should be unnecessary to insist that the camps and prisons must be emptied at once of all political offenders; but seven months passed in North Africa before this first work of liberation was completed. Unless the population is more cowed and exhausted than seems likely, it is probable that the bolder sections of it may have begun to form active organized groups, even before our armies march into a town. In the more radical centers it is fairly certain that in the factories and workshops councils will have been formed. Unless our officers suppress them, these councils will soon link up, as they did in 1918, to form an *Arbeiter-Rat*, a workers' council for the city, which the Commandant should recognize and consult. With his encouragement, various middle-class groups, such as the chambers of commerce, the professional organizations and perhaps the churches, might also come together and choose their spokesmen. They will not choose Nazis. Catholics usually improvise an organization with comparative ease. In this way, within a week or two, a Commandant who wished to win the confidence of the people could get together a provisional municipality, which would be sufficiently representative to act for some time as a town council, subject to his veto. In constituting it, the results of the last free elections of the Weimar period would give him some guidance. It could then submit to him names of persons suitable for the chief official posts. A similar procedure might be followed in rural districts.

There should be no long delay in lifting the ban on political activities. It cannot be justified after fighting has wholly ceased, if, as is probable, the vast mass of the population is well disposed toward the army of occupation, or at least tranquil under its administration.

Our first purpose should be to restore the functions normal in human society. The first step is that the people should learn what actually has happened and what their rulers have done during the last ten years. This can be achieved by objective wireless talks, books, pamphlets, lectures, films, preferably by Germans. It is perhaps the chief service the exiles can render: the suitable men among them should be helped to return promptly. The most questionable of all the Anglo-American policies applied in the early days to Italy was the ban laid on the return of refugees. After the unimaginable process of repression Germans have undergone, their first psychological need will be to talk—freely and safely. If we try to check this instinct of expression and fellowship we shall only aggravate the deep neurosis the Nazis have caused. What this sick nation requires is not a policeman but a psychiatrist. The next phase in recovery is that Germans should come together to consider how they will build up their shattered society anew. Only out of free debate can there arise groups and parties capable of constructive action. The most precious gift the occupation can bring with it will be the right of association and discussion, and this must cover the formation of trade unions no less than of political parties and educational groups.

What restrictions, if any, may be necessary? A military censorship is, of course, inevitable; but after the fighting has ceased, it is unimportant and should be unobtrusive. We should avoid ramming our own version of recent history into German ears without the right of reply. What Germany most sorely needs is the restoration of her old respect for objectivity and scientific truth, which the Nazis labored hard to destroy.

H. N. BRAILSFORD

This is the first of three articles. The second will be published in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Medical Care for All Americans

During the past fifty years, great progress has been made in the science of medicine and public health. We know vastly more today than ever before about the prevention and cure of disease. The rise of civilization on this continent and the growth of our wealth have made possible the establishment of many medical schools and institutions of medical research equipped with costly scientific instruments and laboratories. These institutions have attracted to them the best American talent as well as outstanding medical men from all over the world.

Where did all this wealth, which was the basis of the remarkable growth of medical science in America, come from? It came from the American people. Out of the immense fortunes accumulated by our captains of industry, endowments mounting into the hundreds of millions of dollars have been made to medical education and scientific research. Our local state and federal governments have also made liberal contributions to encourage research and improve public health.

It is therefore clear that the American medical science is not the creation of any single group: it is the outgrowth of a rich, young country. The American people—all the people—are therefore entitled to enjoy the benefits, and can ill afford to see this science made the basis of a cartel operated for the benefit of any special group.

The problem before the American people is: How well is American medical science distributed? What can be done to bring modern medical care within the reach of everyone? Hearings before congressional committees during past years have demonstrated the fact that the lower income groups in our population have much more sickness than the well-to-do and receive much less service.

Modern medicine has become so complicated a matter that the profession has been divided into a series of special branches, often making it necessary for several physicians and specialists to share in the treatment of an individual patient. Today, the doctor must have laboratories and hospitals and skilled technicians at his ready service if his work is to be complete and successful. Many patients do not need the services of the specialist or the laboratory; but neither the patient nor the doctor can know until the diagnosis has been made. Thus, the continuance of the individual doctor who works apart from the organized facilities of the hospital or the group clinic has been possible only because these organized facilities are at his disposal when he needs them. In other words, competent individual practice of modern medicine has been possible only because there is also organized group practice. Many leaders of medicine seriously question whether a doctor can practise modern medicine at its best unless he is a member of an organized group of practitioners who pool their knowledge, skill, experience and equipment so as to give every service the patient needs.

While we have been making tremendous advances in medical science and in the development of educational institutions and facilities for medical service, a barrier has grown up in this country between the average American citizen and modern medical care. It is well recognized that the average American finds great difficulty in meeting the costs of adequate modern diagnosis and treatment when illness comes unexpectedly, is very severe or involves complex services. Costs of hospital care have also—and necessarily—grown apace. A large part of our population, fearful of high medical costs, is deterred from consulting doctors when in real need of advice and care. Preventive medicine is greatly neglected, and diseases which are easily preventable play havoc with millions of our people.

This situation was recently dramatized by the records on rejection of draftees examined by the Selective Service Administration. More than one-half of the first 3,000,000 registrants examined were rejected for general military service. Out of every hundred men rejected, 16 were barred because of dental defects and 12 because of eye defects. Defects of the heart and blood vessels were the principal reason for disqualifying another 10. An additional six had venereal disease. Hernias caused the rejection of six more. Three out of every hundred were rejected chiefly because they were underweight, and tuberculosis and other lung diseases accounted for three more.

These boys and men, it should be remembered, were in the ages when health and vigor should have been at their best. But even among the 22-year-olds, only three out of five could meet the standards; among those who had reached the age of 36, only one in five was accepted.

We have it on high medical authority that many of the causes for which individuals were rejected could have been alleviated or remedied by early treatment.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the losses which the United States is sustaining each year because of this unhappy state of affairs. The nation spends about $4 billion a year for health services and medical care. On an average day about a million workers—two percent of our entire working force—are unable to be at their jobs because of disability resulting from illness or injury. These absences mean an annual loss of more than a billion dollars in wages. In addition, it is estimated authoritatively that the withdrawal of wage earners from the labor market because of permanent disability or premature death costs the nation well over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$5 billion a year in human capital. Altogether, sickness and disability levy upon the national economy a toll of something like $10 billion a year.

Unnecessary sickness and disablement and neglect of medical needs, result in an enormous burden upon public and private agencies and institutions—and taxpayers—to care for dependents, widows and orphans, the aged and the crippled. The federal government and all states carry large financial burdens for the home relief of families and children made dependent by the illness or the premature death of the breadwinner. Much of this is preventable. It is socially criminal to overlook these facts and not to take the necessary steps against their continuance.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill (S. 1161 and H. R. 2861) proposes that the federal government shall do its share for the security and protection of our population.

At this date, it is not necessary to discuss the merits of the bill's provisions for social-insurance cash benefits. We have had a limited social-security system in operation since 1935. It has more than fully demonstrated its imperativeness. Not even the bitterest political enemies of the present administration would want the measure repealed.

Our new bill is nothing more than an extension of the existing social-security system. It first undertakes to fill gaps in coverage left open by the limited and experimental system inaugurated in 1935; the benefits of the system would be extended to about fifteen million persons now excluded—chief among them farm and domestic workers, farmers, small business men and professional workers in non-profit institutions. Experience has demonstrated that this extension is both necessary and feasible. The time to inaugurate it is now, while an unprecedented number of men and women are in jobs, and when the initial insurance premiums would not constitute a hardship to anyone. Second, our bill undertakes to fill the gaps in the scope of the original system by providing insurance protection against important additional risks which threaten the security of working people and their families—the risk of income losses due to temporary sickness or permanent disability and the risk of not being able to afford, or get, needed medical and hospital care.

Inclusion of medical and hospital benefits in the social-insurance proposals has brought a vitriolic campaign of opposition from certain medical groups. In this connection it is worth recalling that more than ten years ago, the American Medical Association endorsed a minority report, objecting to voluntary insurance, which was prepared by some members of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. That report pointed out that if insurance is used to help people pay for their medical care, it had better be compulsory social insurance. Now when compulsory insurance is proposed, organized medicine calls for only voluntary measures.

Doctors who look upon their calling as a profession and not a trade and are truly conscientious in their relation to society, have told me in confidence that they are heart and soul for some drastic action to bring about better distribution of medical care and medical costs. Thoughtful men who come in daily contact with the sick and the ailing know that a very large proportion of our population does not receive adequate medical care, and that something must be done about it. They know, furthermore, that the government is the only agency which can do it effectively.

What does our bill (S. 1161) propose to do about medical costs? Briefly:

1. It would ensure the widest possible spreading of risks and of costs. Workers would find it possible to pay their way in small regular amounts when they are well and earning.

2. It would give people, no matter how small their incomes, unrestricted access to the most modern medical and hospital care.

3. It would preserve the personal relationship between physicians and patients.

4. It would raise the standards of medical care.

5. It would preserve inviolate the professional independence of the doctors.

6. For the majority of physicians, it would mean greater income as well as more secure income than they have ever had.

7. For millions of patients, it would mean not only proper medical care, but also the full dignity of American citizenship, free from the stigma of having to rely on public or private charity.

For employed persons, the funds for all the social-insurance benefits would be derived from a single contribution, thus simplifying the employer's work in making reports and payments and effecting considerable saving in the costs of administration. As under the present old-age and survivors' insurance system, no portion of wages, salaries or incomes in excess of $3,000 per year would be subject to levies for contributions to the fund.

The patient's freedom to choose and change his doctor is guaranteed, as is the doctor's freedom to accept or reject patients. Access to specialists and appropriate payment for such specialist service are also assured. Laboratory services and costly appliances ordered by the doctor would be provided.

The bill does not change the customary free choice of hospitals. Fair payment to the hospitals is guaranteed and the highest practical standards of care are assured. Provision is made to foster scientific research.

I am dwelling at some length on the medical phase of the bill because it is the most misrepresented. An amply financed group which calls itself the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service is carrying on a nationwide attack upon this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proposed legislation. It is difficult for any citizen interested in the well-being of his fellow men to comprehend the reasons for this action. This group of physicians is employing methods and tactics which are utterly unfair.

Neither Senator Wagner nor I has ever claimed that our bill is a perfect instrument. It does offer a basis for honest and sincere discussion. With good will on all sides, a coöperative effort should be made to evolve something of great value in furthering the opportunities of the medical profession in their service to society and something that will answer the needs of our people. Instead of showing good will and coöperative spirit, the National Physicians' Committee is squandering huge funds and vast energy to thwart this effort to bring more and better medical care and hospitalization to our people. If the same talents and the same funds were applied to constructive effort, the goal long awaited would soon be within our reach.

Despite widespread ballyhoo to the contrary, physicians are by no means of one mind with the self-styled National Physicians' Committee. For example, the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care—which includes many leaders in medical practice and in the medical schools—congratulated us upon the bill shortly after it was introduced. More recently, they published a report which offered suggestions for improving it. These were constructive criticisms which showed painstaking study. Similarly, the Physicians' Forum of New York has issued a penetrating analysis of the medical-care proposals. The Forum, while declaring that "a number of changes in the bill are necessary to assure that the medical benefits will provide the best quality of medical services," approved the general features of the medical section of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Many other physicians have indicated their approval of the legislation in principle and are preparing suggestions for its improvement. These evidences of widespread interest and study among medical men are encouraging.

In my opinion, it is the duty of every liberal citizen, and more especially of every liberal physician, to make up his mind that since the problem of better and more widespread medical care must be solved, there should be no shirking of responsibility by any segment of our people, and least of all by members of the medical profession. All of us should, I believe, contribute generously and sincerely to solving the problem of our national health needs.

In his recent message to the Congress on the State of the Union, President Roosevelt included "the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health" as an essential for an Economic Bill of Rights for the American people. It is now up to the Congress to translate into reality this wish and need of the vast majority of the American people.

U. S. Senate, Washington JAMES E. MURRAY

Reflections of a Soldier[1]

GOING THROUGH MY NEW REPUBLIC FILE this Sunday morning, I reread for perhaps the twentieth time J. F. Brown's "Morale for the American Dream," which appeared in your issue of May 4, 1942. I read it the first time just about a month before I was to enter the army. Then it filled me with hope and understanding. Now as I read it, nearly two years after, it leaves me with more understanding and less hope, at least for the immediate future.

In treating morale, you will remember Mr. Brown used an analogy between morale and mental illness. "The patient who recovers," Mr. Brown wrote, "has a *realistic fear*, or at least a considerable *discontent*, with regard to his present situation and is inclined to view his past mode of adjustment with *distrust*. In addition, the patient who recovers has clearly formulated hopes for that type of future which may be developed in terms of what is technically called the 'reality situation'." Mr. Brown went further and said that the individuals in a nation at war, like these mental patients, would exert all of their energy in the all-out effort only if they too possessed the same kind of orientation toward the present, past and future. The Russians had it, he said, and the Chinese. And the Germans, too, except that their hope for the future was not developed in terms of the "reality situation."

Writing back there in May, 1942, he said this about our morale: "We have the fear and discontent in the present situation which is prerequisite to a good morale, but not enough distrust of the past and no clearly formulated hope for the future." And then he concluded, although he admitted that we would probably win whether we had the advantages of "good" morale or not, that we "*should* fear and distrust the relatively bad old days, with their limited liberties for the underprivileged," and that we "*should* live in the hope that the American Dream may be made to come true."

The New Republic and The Nation, and PM, and Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Straight, et al., have been crying "we should" for more than two years now. And I have been living with the enlisted men of the army and listening to them. The sergeant who works next to me and who used to be a shoe salesman in upstate New York wants only two things: he wants the war to be over and as soon as possible, and he wants to go back home and go on the road selling anything. The private who works under me expects to go to England as soon as this damn mess is over and start a

[1] This is one of a series of articles and sketches written by present and former members of the American armed forces. While we have now suspended our Soldiers' Prose competition, we shall continue to welcome material for this department. It will be paid for at our regular rate, and contributions considered exceptionally good will receive an extra payment of $25. — THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chain of White Tower Hamburger Stands and "coin money." A private in the barracks is studying Spanish. He expects to clean up selling refrigerators and buying meat casings from the South Americans. Even those who expect only to go back to their old jobs are in a hurry to get home.

During the coal strikes there was much strong talk and I began to feel that most soldiers were anti-labor. But then PM ran a headline describing the earnings of Rickenbacker on a single day and there was more talk, just as plentiful and just as strong. I concluded that, most of all, the men wanted to get home, and that they resented anyone, no matter what his politics or economics, who in any way hindered this.[1]

There is our "American Dream." Not the four freedoms, not the Atlantic Charter, not Mr. Willkie's "One World," but rather a typical Saturday Evening Post short story trying desperately to come true. I try not to believe that this is so, I want not to believe it, I wish someone could prove me wrong, but daily the conclusion is forced upon me. And now I have come to the point of hoping for the one but expecting the other, and trying to adjust myself to what I expect.

What adjustment is there? To me, at least, there seem to be many courses of action. First of all, we can fight and write for what we hope will come about—for, to maintain our own emotional stability, we must continue to warn our fellow men of the consequences of the new isolationism, the new imperialism, the new normalcy. This must come first. And we can continue selling our "socialized" values, for men must be made to see that they must work together if they are to survive. As Kenneth Burke has pointed out in one of his essays, warfare plays up socialization. For in a certain sense, as we fight for what we hope will be a kinder, more socialized world, our fighting together itself forces us into living the very kind of life we hope we are fighting for.

So much for our hopes. But suppose we get, not Wallace, but Bricker and Business after it's over?[2] We can watch and learn for one thing, for more knowledge of social dynamics is our strongest weapon. And we can teach. We can coöperate with organized labor, which is for the most part short-sighted and is largely a pressure group for more money and less work in the existing institutions. And this last is most urgent and most difficult, for labor must save itself from the paranoia of Bricker and Business. Already there are signs that the scapegoats of the paranoiacs are being sold to our workmen: Negroes and Jews at home, Hitler and Hirohito, the Germans and the Japs, abroad, might seem cause enough to many a frustrated laborer for his difficulties in the thirties and the forties. We can attack these falsehoods, and we can show just cause why the war came and why the future wars will come.

And we can, to use a good old imperialist phrase, "keep our wits about us." I seem to remember one other advocate of social change who saw his plans disintegrate and then went to another land and spent decades reading in the British Museum to make himself ready when the next "chance" catastrophe came.

In the meantime, we must pay more attention to developing theories of social action. I have often wondered, as I read your articles, just how The New Republic would answer these questions: How does a change in social and economic institutions come about? Is it enough to show a people that the "new" is more reasonable? Or must we wait until the "old" has ceased to function before we offer the "new"? And ceased to function for whom, for how many of our people and to what degree? Can the change be made peacefully and gradually? Or will there come a time when the in-group tries to freeze the entire institutional pattern (fascism)? How do you answer these questions? How do the liberals you know answer them? Can they agree? Don't we have to answer them before we can begin a concerted, clear-cut program for action?

SERGEANT KARL R. KORSTAD

[1] A note might be added here to this effect: As far as willingness to fight under actual battle conditions is concerned, our soldiers' morale attitudes might be described thus in Mr. Brown's terms: They are discontented with the present (war, disturbance, etc.). They were satisfied with the past and they hope to make that past the future. And they fight well on these terms.

I—and I should think Mr. Brown would agree to this—cannot concur with them, since I feel that they are not building a future which may be developed in terms of the "reality situation" and I try to warn them of this. But perhaps they won't be warned—and then the great lowering of their "morale" will come, not between now and victory, but rather in the postwar period. Or should I say the new "prewar" period?

[2] To suppose such a possibility, even to predict such a possibility, surely in no way weakens liberalism's cause. There is no virtue in simply saying blindly that it won't happen—rather we should study economic trends, and individual Americans, trying to find out what may happen. For I assume that liberals aren't merely trying to satisfy their feelings, but are also realistically interested in effecting social changes. Such action can only be effective when the "'reality situation" is correctly judged. Less "faith" and more "fact" will pay greater dividends in ultimate social change.

Mail Call (Revised)

In The New Republic of August 31, 1942, we printed a poem, written from the point of view of the enlisted man, entitled "Mail Call," by Morton Yarmon, Technician, Fifth Grade, Armored Force Headquarters. Since then he has become an officer, and Lieutenant Yarmon now sends us this revised version of his poem from his post in the European Theatre of Operations. — THE EDITORS

Has the baby lost her rash?
Any trouble getting cash?

Is the market staying steady?
Don't you think that Dewey's ready?

Did the bond drive reach its goal?
What's the price today for coal?

They say officers don't worry—
Come on, postman, hurry, hurry!

MORTON YARMON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

The Dewey Machine in Action

THE REPUBLICANS SAID it was the weather, but it was more than that. The three days of the convention were among the hottest in Chicago history. They also were among the most uninspired and uninspiring in American history. The elephant was all dressed up and carrying a big American flag handed to him by Colonel McCormick. But the old work animal didn't know where to go. He didn't have the confidence to go anywhere. So he accepted Governor Dewey.

It was not the weather so much as the lack of excitement, the absence of a unifying, pulling idea, that accounted for the weary expression on the faces of the delegates. But most important of all was their lack of enthusiasm for their principal candidate. There was eagerness at the convention. There was enthusiasm. But they were in the Stassen and Bricker headquarters. The enthusiasm of the Stassen forces was the most intense, and in their penthouse headquarters in the Sherman Hotel they maintained a crispness of view and a real belief in their candidate that defied the intense heat. The Stassen forces were the youngest group in town; the Bricker forces were the oldest.

But the Bricker people were enthusiastic, too. Theirs was the enthusiasm and the tenseness of the old guard. Bricker, they said, is the personification of Republicanism. He certainly is. He is an attractive man with an attractive wife. He is a good stump orator. He is not bothered by any crazy new ideas. The old-time religion is good enough for Bricker.

The day before the convention began, Governor Warren of California arrived and held a press conference that was like a fresh breeze from Lake Michigan. There was hope that he would add life and zest to the proceedings. At that point it was taken for granted that he would be the vice-presidential nominee. But his speech the next night left even the delegates cold. Better than any other speech of the convention, however, it revealed the basic contradiction within the Republican Party. Warren spoke hopefully of a brave new world where everyone would have jobs and opportunity. Undoubtedly he wanted to see that dream come true. But most important to him, and certainly to the old guard that drafted the platform, was the necessity of achieving that world by do-nothing methods.

Warren tore the pants off the New Deal, and there was a good response. Of course the people are tired of the New Deal. Of course they want a change in the White House. But do they want a change from something to nothing?

Warren's withdrawal was a blow to the Dewey forces, but they made the best of it. It meant a job for Bricker. He has been running for the presidency, the vice-presidency or some cabinet post for many months now. He was given second choice. The applause for him was genuine. The men who controlled the convention would have put him in first place if they had thought he had a chance of winning. They were not for Dewey, but they thought he might win. And how the Republicans do want a winner!

The platform was the product of the old guard with Senator Taft in control. Again all the contradictions within the party were brought out into full view of everyone. The GOP was for all the New Deal social reforms. It was for a better life for everyone. It was for farm support prices, but against subsidies. Don't ask me the difference. It was for sovereignty and against a superstate—those magic words which, like President Roosevelt's new word "integrity," can mean anything. But the party was for international coöperation. When Governor Dewey held his first press conference after accepting the nomination he conceded that there appeared to be inconsistencies in the platform. There certainly were.

But there are no inconsistencies in the new party organization. It is strictly old-guard. The Taft forces made a big fight for the retention of Harrison E. Spangler. He was kept on as general counsel. The isolationists made a big fight for Colonel McCormick's man, Werner W. Schroeder. He was made vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. Schroeder was the man Willkie made such a fight against on the first anniversary of Pearl Harbor, to prevent his election as committee chairman. Today there is not a Willkie man left in the party organization.

I went to the convention believing that the Republicans had an almost even chance of winning in November. As the program unfolded and as I talked with delegates I became more and more convinced that I was seeing the death of a party. Many delegates told me privately that they thought the President would win again in November. I heard many other delegates giving pep talks, trying to convince their comrades that all was not lost. I heard only one independent predict that the Republicans would win in November. He argued that people vote with their bellies rather than with their heads. If that is so, perhaps the GOP is not dead.

When Governor Dewey arrived I met him at the airport and stayed with him until he reached home. I believe the man has been underestimated. He has considerable ability. His acceptance speech was, I thought, unimpressive except for his warning to the Axis that America was united in its determination to fight the war to a finish. At his press conference the next morning, the Governor handled himself well. He responded frankly to most of the questions. He pulled no boners. He left me cold nevertheless. His is not a positive personality. I could not believe that the man believed passionately in any idea. I did not think he had the substance or the strength of a Taft or a Wheeler. He knew all the right answers, but I do not believe that they came from the heart. Taft and Wheeler believe, however wrong they may be. Tom Dewey works only with his head.

To sum up: the Republican convention was one of the most dismal experiences imaginable. There was not a positive idea presented. Negation was the key word. The old guard was in control and it is still in control. But the candidate is young and able, an effective radio speaker. The country wants—and needs—new blood. But will it get it by returning to power the men who control the Republican Party today?

Chicago T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Warners' Boys in the Balkans

THE ERIC AMBLER NOVEL has been employed rather lightly and playfully by Warner Brothers in "The Mask of Dimitrios" as a playground to exhibit the not-too-related virtuosities of its adventure-story crew of talented male actors, some of whom have been seen doing the same generally evil things about four times a year for quite a while now. The crew in this picture consists of Sidney Greenstreet, Peter Lorre, Edward Ciannelli, Victor Francen and some half-dozen others who are good at making the kind of faces that go with these pictures: cruelty (of the cold, immobile-faced variety), fear (as though the person were taken with cold chills), or a double-take job the others are picking up from Lorre, where the actor's face changes rapidly from laughter, love or a security that he doesn't really feel to a face more sincerely menacing, fearful or deadpan. Among the people in these films are also a number of spectacular pop-eyes, weak chins and hard-as-nails voices to cringe in front of or glower behind revolvers. Many of their set attitudes, like the cat-and-mouse antics between Lorre and Greenstreet, which were originally supposed to express fear, horror, etc., are now played slapstick fashion for laughs.

These actors produce some light, whimsical effects which are generally minor as far as making the plot any more significant, but they are the most intriguing parts of the film and were generally intended to be by the director, Jean Negulesco. Lorre's performance, on the side of the law for once, has a nice tone of humor and distress; Victor Francen does some fancifully fruity things with his voice as a syrupy homosexual spy chief, Kurt Katch injects some funny touches of insinuating eagerness as a Turk named Colonel Haki, a bit player makes the most of another small part as an archives clerk who is a bear for organization. Steve Garay does his usual good job as a meek, frightened-voiced little man who is victimized by the corrupt hero.

Most of these show-off flourishes of acting have about the same effect on the picture as some diverting curlicues of penmanship do on a sluggish, uninspired letter. The story shows the career of a super Turkish scoundrel named Dimitrios Makropoulous (and acted tepidly by Gregory Scott) as it is told in flashback episodes by some of his victims to Peter Lorre—playing a detective-story author who is going to a lot of trouble to find material for a book, and to Sidney Greenstreet—a crook who unaccountably is going to even more to get information he already has so that he can blackmail Dimitrios. For several reasons, Dimitrios and his career are the flattest thing in the picture, psychologically the shallowest, and as dull in an evil way as Irene Dunne's career is in a sweet way in "The White Cliffs of Dover." The flashbacks concerning him are rigorously stunted in order to wring something funny out of the preliminary chats that occur among Lorre, Greenstreet and the people Lorre interviews. His crimes, which are black enough, are brief and dull as movie events. The actor himself looks more like the third violinist in the Philharmonic—or the male lead in an operetta—and about as threatening. The Balkan atmosphere that surrounds him is just as uninspired and is produced mainly by a raucous, smoke-filled dive which is used three times in the film and features either a squirming Oriental dancer, a Gypsy violinist, or neither, depending on which country's backwater it happens to be in at the time. The people run to dark hair, oily natures and mustaches.

The British film called "Forty-eight Hours" is about an imaginary Battle of Bramley Inn, in which a troop of disguised German parachutists capture a British village two days before the main invasion of Britain, and are defeated a day later by the villagers. It was made more than a year ago and fulfilled a good intent to show Britishers what to be on guard against in pre-invasion tactics and what to do and not to do during them. It is far less flashy than "The Mask of Dimitrios" in its non-use of artificial coloring and excitement, and a dozen times more acute in its perception of people, manners and environments. I still feel it has a dullish, weak-tea quality, the result of making the entire engagement too neat and placid, and the progression of its events too restricted, simple and orderly. There are parts of it less prettily visualized: among them the touching, very realistic reactions of three village women when each kills a German or sees one killed, and a portrait of a tweedy, gay-as-a-lark English biddy, who sings songs about parrot pie, and cherry-ripe, cherry-ripe.

MANNY FARBER

A Communication

Rayburn of Texas

SIR: I should like to tell New Republic readers something about Sam Rayburn of Texas. Rayburn is certainly not a reactionary; but neither is he a radical. Some of his views are conservative ones, but to call him a "conservative" would not be accurate. He has supported the basic New Deal reforms, but he does not fit into the glib catch-phrases loosely used to catalogue men in public life. In fact, he cannot be shoved into any of the neatly labeled political pigeonholes at all. He is simply Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives—an earnest, sincere American who loves his country not only for what she is but for what she may become through a process of continuous, steady, practical progressive legislation.

Nor is there a man in Congress today who can point to a more imposing list of such progressive laws now upon the statute books which resulted from bills bearing his name. The Securities and Exchange Commission administers three great laws: the Securities Act of 1933; the Stock Exchange Act of 1934; and the Public Utilities Holding Company Act of 1935, most controversial of all the earlier New Deal measures. All were reported to the House and put through that chamber by Sam Rayburn as chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The Rural Electrification Administration and the Federal Communications Commission owe their existence to legislation bearing Rayburn's name. He has been responsible for enactment of some of the most important railroad legislation ever written in this country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perhaps it would be inaccurate to call the Speaker an idealist; certainly there is little of the dreamer about him. But it is utterly impossible to deny to a man with a record like the one just recited the title of a solid progressive. Especially is this true in view of the fact that he is no mere fair-weather advocate of the things in which he believes. The law which created the Federal Communications Commission was passed in the days of the New Deal honeymoon when such an act was overwhelmingly popular with everyone except those special interests whose toes might be stepped upon. But there came another day when the FCC was not, to say the least, riding a wave of congressional approval. The Cox Committee had been created to investigate it. The Dies Committee had made all sorts of accusations against it. The attempt of the Commission to protect competitive rights in the radio field and to guard the position of the independent radio stations was under the most severe fire.

And then on February 17, 1943, this whole pattern of attack reached its climax. An amendment was offered to the supply bill carrying funds for the FCC, which amendment would have cut the Commission off without a cent, thus in effect abolishing it. All the confident forces of conservatism and reaction were arrayed behind that amendment. Those forces constituted an unquestioned majority of the House. But before the vote was taken there appeared squarely in the middle of the path that amendment had to travel a figure of a stocky, bald-headed man who had not forgotten the fundamental issues involved and who was not the least bit afraid to speak out plainly about them.

Here is what he said:

Mr. Chairman, I think I have a right to speak on this amendment because I happened to be the chairman of the committee that reported the bill to set up the Communications Commission and was the author of the bill. Before that time there was chaos in communications throughout the length and breadth of the land. The telegraph and telephone business had hardly been touched by the agency that was supposed to handle them, the Interstate Commerce Commission. The old Radio Commission was devoting a little time to broadcasting and to broadcasting only. It was thought at that time that all communications should come under one commission of the government. This was done back in 1934.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota should be brushed aside as sheer demagogy, that would be one thing. If the begging of the question by the gentleman from New York that if the investigating committee reported between now and the first of July were convincing, that would be another thing. I do not appeal to your prejudices or to your passions, and I do not accuse people of demagogy, but I do want to counsel with your reason, with your reason, I repeat, and with all the earnestness I can command. A great war is on, the world is aflame and the air is full of propaganda from every conceivable portion of the earth. There is only one agency in the United States of America, let me say to you, that has any control whatsoever over the air of the United States. Do you by your vote at this time want to strike down that only agency?

The amendment was defeated and everyone in the House chamber knew who was primarily responsible for its defeat. Sam Rayburn's fundamental, simple argument just couldn't be answered.

Approximately a year earlier he had done the same sort of job on an amendment directed against the National Labor Relations Board. Both times the tide was running very strongly against the position Rayburn took. He believed he was needed and he was there.

Sam Rayburn is a bachelor and the devotion that would otherwise have been given to a wife and children is directed toward the Congress of the United States and particularly the House of Representatives. He will defend the Congress against anyone who raises his voice against it. Time and again when press campaigns were in progress on such highly emotionalized matters as so-called "pensions for congressmen" or "X" gasoline ration cards, it has been the Speaker who has spoken out most plainly and borne the brunt of the attack.

But his devotion to Congress does not stop with public defense of it. It expresses itself also in a desire to have Congress do its duty in the right way as Rayburn sees that way.

He reacts almost instinctively against anything which might threaten the good name, or the effectiveness, or the prestige of Congress. And it makes no whit of difference to him from what source the threat comes. The Rules Committee of the House has become in recent years both a more and more powerful and a more and more conservative, if not outright reactionary, body. The Rules Committee was set up for the sole purpose of affording orderly procedure for the consideration of bills by the House. But as time has gone on, it has taken to itself more and more of the functions of deciding on the merits of legislation and has acted increasingly as a sort of over-all legislative committee, bringing to the floor legislation its members liked and keeping off the floor what they didn't. This tendency reached one of its highest points when the rule for consideration of the Price Control Act was reported on June 7, 1944.

That rule made in order as amendments to the regular bill reported by the Banking and Currency Committee all of the provisions of another bill, H. R. 4647, introduced by Representative Howard Smith of Virginia. That bill had been considered, it is true, by the special committee headed by Representative Smith, whose function it is to investigate acts of executive agencies beyond the scope of their proper authority. But the bill was a complete and far-reaching piece of legislation covering much ground—particularly with reference to drastic curtailment of the effective action of the War Labor Board—not within the province of the price-control legislation at all. Although many members cast their votes upon this rule on the basis of their opinion of the provisions of the Smith bill, there was a far deeper issue involved. If this action on the part of the Rules Committee had been accepted by the House, it would have become possible for that committee very largely to determine the future course of all types of legislation. Individual members of the House would have been able to introduce bills covering certain subjects and, with this precedent, to go before the Rules Committee urging that their bills be given a preferential status on the floor in connection with the consideration of any legislation duly reported after full consideration by standing legislative committees. Never before had the Rules Committee gone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so far. Nor did anyone point out the dangers in their action quite as clearly as the Speaker of the House in a brief, four-minute speech. Here are some of the things he said:

Mr. Speaker, I ask the pardon of the House for taking the floor at this time, but after 31 years of service in the House of Representatives I am very jealous of the rights, prerogatives and privileges of the House of Representatives. I am also very jealous of the rights, prerogatives and privileges of all of the committees of the House of Representatives. That is why I ask your attention for a very few moments.

As was so ably said by my distinguished friend from Michigan [Mr. Wolcott], we have before us a bill which the Committee on Banking and Currency patriotically and sensibly considered for a long time. They did their work. In the usual way they appeared before the Committee on Rules for a rule for the consideration of their bill. During the consideration, other matters were brought into the committee. I take this time to warn the members of this House every one of whom is a member of a legislative committee, except those who are members of the Rules Committee and no other committee, the Committee on Rules was never set up to be a legislative committee. It is a committee on procedure, to make it possible that the majority of the House of Representatives may have the opportunity to work its will. If this is orderly, if that part of the rule that is in controversy here is orderly, then the legislative committee of the House might well take care, because the Committee on Rules, under this system, can meet, you can introduce a bill today, refer it to a legislative committee, and the Committee on Rules tomorrow can bring in a rule making it in order. Do you want that kind of condition to obtain in this House? That is where rules with provisions like this are leading us. We might as well face it today as any other time.

I do not want to take away any of the rights of the Committee on Rules, and I do not want the Committee on Rules to take away the rights, prerogatives and privileges of other standing committees of the House of Representatives. Now, we are met face to face with this issue, Mr. Speaker. If we settle it one way today, then this matter will be here many, many times in the future. If we settle it like it should be settled today, I think there will be an end to the trespassing of one committee in the House upon the rights, prerogatives and privileges of other committees.

Anyone who really knows the Speaker would have expected him to do exactly what he did on this occasion. The orderly procedure of the House which for 31 years had been his very life was to a serious degree being threatened. Sam Rayburn couldn't keep silent under those circumstances. Even to those who do not know him so very well and some of whom sometimes misjudge him, it should be clear that the Price Control Act of 1944 owed to the Speaker its chance to be fairly considered under a simple open rule.

It is frequently said that the House of Representatives contains in its membership a pretty accurate cross section of the American people. The present Speaker of the House once described himself in these modest terms: "I am an average American citizen, no better, I know, no worse, I hope, than the average." Those words were spoken on the floor of the House in the midst of a truly great speech on national unity delivered on December 8, 1943. It was a speech so simple in its diction, so direct in its appeal, so transparent in its sincerity that its message swept through the nation, as indeed, its author had frankly said he hoped would be the case. Only some of the forthright and challenging statements of Vice President Wallace setting fort the basic objectives of the common people in this war an their hopes for a better world in the peacetime to follo have equaled it in its appeal to the average American. Tha speech marked one of the high points in Sam Rayburn' career. It contained some direct accusations such as the fol lowing paragraph:

Some people are complaining who have improved their posi tion during this war. I hate to think it, but as I do think it I must say it, I think some groups in this country, at the ex pense of our unity in the war effort, are thinking more o their position after the war than they are of winning the wa now. It is a sad commentary upon some human beings.

But most of all it sounded a note of confidence in the heart of America which is the answer to reams of newsprint and weeks of radio oratory by the demagogues and the faint-hearted. For of the prophets of doom Sam Rayburn had this to say:

Is somebody trying to change our form of government, they ask; an insidious group somewhere? Now listen: Under our form of government and the way we have of doing, the election of members of the House of Representatives each two years, the election of a President every four years, and the election of all the Senate each six years, this form of government of yours and mine is not going to be changed until the people exercising their intelligence and an unpurchasable ballot, vote to change this form of government.

So here is a man who not only loves the Congress in which he has served for so many years, but who, true to the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, knows that the rock upon which these United States are built is the will of the people expressed at the ballot box—government of the people, by the people, for the people—the kind of government they want. That will of the people is good enough for Sam Rayburn. And with all his heart he believes that the people can be depended upon to chart the nation's course and do it wisely and well. And that is the basic tenet of every true democrat the world has ever known.

JERRY VOORHIS

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The Bandwagon

Reports from the underground in Germany said today that Adolf Hitler established headquarters at or near Le Mans the day after the Allies landed in Normandy . . . but finally returned to Berchtesgaden.

The argument used by the German general to get the Führer to return to his mountain retreat, it was said, was that he could not afford to have his name associated closely with another German defeat.—*AP dispatch to The Berkshire* [*Mass.*] *Evening Eagle.*

Referring to the proposal by Secretary Harold L. Ickes that the United States should operate government-owned plants with war-veteran personnel, Senator Wherry said, "No more fantastic and cruel scheme could be proposed." He declared that "to thrust boys from far-flung battlefronts, some of them with severe physical and mental handicaps, into government-operated industrial plants in competition with private industry, would make their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

transition into civilian life a hazard and mockery."—*From The New York Herald Tribune.*

In Pennsylvania, for example, the number of college students interested in teaching has been cut in half since 1938. Only 2,000 will be available to fill a need for 5,000 in this state. Low salaries cannot be considered the cause of lack of interest in Pennsylvania any longer, as the minimum now averages $1,200 a year.—*From The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.*

The Wave of the Future

So basic and universal is their appeal that, unknown a short decade ago, comic magazines are today the most widely read of all printed material . . . currently sell more than 35,000,000 copies per issue! Here, indeed, is a new and powerful force that moves minds.—*From an advertisement of Superman Publications in The American Mercury.*

Too Little and Too Late

Proposed Draft of Republican Platform Would Prohibit Robot Planes

—*Subhead in The New York Times.*

Total-War Department

How Augusto Rosso, former Italian Ambassador to the United States and his socially prominent American wife, the former Mrs. F. Wilkinson Bunker of Washington, D. C., hid in a modest seventh floor "walkup" apartment in Rome during the Nazi occupation was revealed here tonight. . . . Mrs. Rosso . . . told the INS today that she suffered many a burned finger while learning to cook in the apartment.—*From The Washington Post.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Trouble in El Salvador

SIR: There is trouble again in Central America. The Guatemalan government has been overthrown, and there are public demonstrations against the government in Nicaragua. Other parts of Central America are also disturbed.

In view of this fact, your readers may be interested in some extracts from a revealing letter I received a short time ago from an Indian in El Salvador. You will understand why I think it best to suppress his name.

Washington, D. C. S. A. Q.

[ENCLOSURE]

During the first part of December, 1943, a group of citizens of San Salvador protested to the Supreme Court of Justice on some articles which had appeared on the forthcoming presidential term, stating that the only man capable of holding office was General Martínez. This was the "crime" which provoked the arrest of more than 100 persons and held them incommunicado.

February 29, the Constitutional Assembly decreed that the presidential term which would normally end December 31, 1944, should extend only to the end of February and that on March 1 President Martínez would inaugurate the new term. Discontent spread through the city as Martínez took office on March 1, but the month passed more or less tranquilly.

A revolution started on April 2. Martínez succeeded in crushing the revolt by April 4. Martial law was declared; there were hundreds of arrests. A whole block of houses was razed to the ground. Airplanes bombed the city. The fort shelled us and some of the bombs and shells fell in front of our house. The dead numbered thousands. Those taken prisoner underwent unspeakable tortures.

One of the heroes of this revolt was tortured throughout the whole night—from six in the evening until ten the following morning, when he was shot. When he was brought out to be shot, both his arms had been broken, one knee smashed to splinters, his right hand was a bloody pulp. His finger-nails and toe-nails had been pulled out—wood splinters had been driven into the tips of his fingers, and they had filed his teeth. They had fractured his collar-bone; there was only a bloody, gaping hole where an eye had once been.

The priest who was attending him during his last moments noticed his trembling and asked, "My son, are you afraid to die?" This boy who the day before was filled with life, whose body had been smashed and twisted beyond repair, answered, "No, father. It is only my body which trembles. Not my spirit."

Then began a general strike. The city lost its fear and the people fought the despot to the finish. Unity on this issue was complete; commercial activity in San Salvador ceased on the afternoon of May 4. Indignation and resentment mounted higher and spread in the capital. By May 12 not only was all private industry at a standstill, but we were joined by the employees of the ministries, the government agencies, the accounting office and the mayor's office.

About four o'clock that Sunday afternoon a group of young boys were talking in the street in front of the house of the Martínez party head. A policeman came up and told them to move on. They did so and were walking away when the policeman cocked his rifle and with absolutely no warning shot one of the boys in the back. Not content with this, he shot him again and again—four times in all.

This was the signal for war. The entire city rose in protest. A few hours after the murder the entire diplomatic corps went to Martínez and told him bluntly that the state of affairs must cease, and asked him to resign. But Martínez was obdurate.

After the boy's funeral the people went, en masse, to the National Palace; they invaded the corridors in a great indignant flood of humanity. "We want liberty! Death to the tyrant!" During that afternoon more than forty thousand of us congregated in front of the palace in the hope of Martínez's resignation, and by this time even the priests had joined the strike. There was not one single church open throughout San Salvador.

It was announced that Martínez would speak at eight o'clock. He did so and stated that the next day his power would be delegated to one of the ministers of state. This announcement was received amid tremendous applause and general rejoicing.

The next day joy and celebrating were unrestrained; banners and posters throughout the city announced that the strike was over. Martínez had not been able to cope with the "strikers," as he called us. At ten o'clock in the morning it was announced that General Menendez was President of El Salvador.

The first act of the new president was to grant amnesty to all political prisoners and to pardon all who had been under sentence of death. Today we return to work and I hope in a few days all will be normal again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wallace and the Far East

SIR: Whatever effect it may have in this country and in Europe, Vice President Henry A. Wallace's pronouncement as contained in "Our Job in the Pacific," a booklet just released by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is bound to have far-reaching and significant repercussions in the Far East.

In China, where Mr. Wallace has just been visiting as the personal representative of President Roosevelt and where the war situation is reaching its most crucial stage, a pronouncement such as this cannot but have a tonic effect, an effect not incomparable to that of the news of the bombing of the Japanese islands by American Superfortresses, except that the effect will be much more lasting.

Far from being an idealistic declaration, Mr. Wallace's pronouncement is thoroughly realistic and businesslike in its approach. Instead of dealing in altruistic generalities, Mr. Wallace speaks in terms of needs of America and the Far East, in terms of *quid pro quo* and dollars and cents, an approach which should have an immense appeal to realistically minded people on both sides of the Pacific.

As regards China's role in the Pacific, Mr. Wallace points out that it is to the interest of the democracies to have a strong China in the Far East. "A free, strong, prosperous and democratic China," he writes, "could serve as an immensely stabilizing factor in the Pacific."

When Mr. Wallace speaks of interrelationship among America, China and Russia after the war he touches upon a very vital issue, one that unless it is frankly faced in a statesmanlike manner not only by these three powers but together with Great Britain, may yet result in a third world war. It is of the greatest necessity that concrete ways be worked out to maintain a harmonious relationship among China, Russia and America together with Great Britain in the Far East.

Unquestionably Vice President Wallace's declaration regarding the future of the Pacific reaffirms and elucidates the official American policy which, as pointed out by a leading New York daily, represents in general American public opinion in line with traditional American foreign policy. Let us hope that Mr. Wallace's pronouncement will be effectively, speedily and fully implemented by action as the needs of the Far Eastern situation demand.

New York City HUBERT S. LIANG

"Individual" Education

SIR: Helen Lynd's otherwise very excellent analysis of the educational scene, "The Conflict in Education," in your issue of May 22, is marred by the following statement:

> Reading these signs of the times, the Progressive Education Association has abandoned its program of "individual" education for a new program that will adapt the child to society's needs. . . .
>
> The Progressive Education Association, henceforth to be known as the American Education Fellowship, has not abandoned its position with respect to "individual" education. On the contrary, the official statement of the Board of Directors has this to say in part:
>
> The American Education Fellowship will strongly oppose the efforts of those secretly or openly reactionary minorities who, under the guise of attacking "progressive education," would not only destroy modern, experimental practices of every variety, but would force all public education back to its nineteenth, even eighteenth, century levels. This means to protect as strongly as possible the constructive gains which have been made; it means freeing the child from autocratic and psychologically untenable "schoolmasterism." It means enriching the curriculum as an ever growing experience in social learning and living. It means much improved professional training, higher salaries, and security for teachers; and coöperative planning of educational policy in every public school. It means, finally, the significant experimentation such as the Eight Year Study which continues to test the main postulates both of the earlier period of progressive education and of the period we are now entering.

VINAL H. TIBBETTS, Director,
New York City Progressive Education Association

SIR: I am glad to have Mr. Tibbetts' assurance that the Progressive Education Association under its new name still considers concern with individuals of central importance in education. My statement was based upon the detailed report of the new policy on page one of The New York Times for March 11, 1944, supplemented by statements of a number of persons who had been present at the meeting where this policy was adopted. If they and The Times's report were wrong in stating that the new policy means that it is no longer necessary to give as much attention to individual development as Progressive Education has done hitherto, I am delighted. The statement Mr. Tibbetts quotes seems to me ambiguous on this point. Many of us would welcome further clarification as to the reason for and meaning of the changed name and policy.

Bronxville, N. Y. HELEN MERRELL LYND

By Otis Ferguson

SIR: Since Otis Ferguson was a constant and well loved contributor to The New Republic, I think your readers will be interested to know that an article by him has appeared posthumously in the April, 1944, issue of American Speech. It is entitled "Vocabulary for Lakes, Deep Seas and Inland Waters" and deals with the colorful speech of the Merchant Marine.

CHARLOTTE LA RUE, Acting Advertising Manager,
New York City Columbia University Press

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, Inc., writes in answer to a letter by Laura Z. Hobson (The New Republic, June 19), in which she charges that the committee has failed to oppose the immigration policy of the United States, while attacking British policy in Palestine. The committee believes that Mrs. Hobson's criticism of our immigration policy is "valid and justified and that the United States is the one country that must show the way to our democratic allies by . . . amending the evasions of our present immigration laws."

Mr. M. V. Morgenstern, of the Public Relations Office of the University of Chicago, writes us in regard to a Bandwagon item we reprinted from The Chicago Sun. The item dealt with a case of alleged suppression by the University authorities of an issue of The Chicago Maroon, weekly student newspaper. Mr. Morgenstern says The Sun's story was completely inaccurate and he encloses an editorial from The Maroon by Frederick I. Gottesman, editor-in-chief, which says in part: "Since I have been associated with The Chicago Maroon, neither the Dean's Office nor any other agency on the campus has ever sought to exercise any powers of censorship on our paper."

Walter L. Bennett, of Lowville, New York, tells us that his presidential candidate for 1944 is FDR. "For us, the lowly white-collar group, there is hope in none other." Mr. Bennett goes on to say that he hopes Roosevelt will show fight, "fight like blazes," against all the groups in this country who are attacking him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

Mann: From Ur to OPA

EXCEPT A GRAIN of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone." To this text Mann's earlier works provide a comment, with their dying fall, their concern for the pathological and their consciousness of isolation. The title of his first story was "Fallen"; the subject of his first novel, written at twenty-five, was the decadence of the German burgher; in a remarkable sequence of sketches he expounded the riddle of the artist, whose gifts were a blessing to mankind and a curse to himself. In 1918 his contribution to the German war effort was "Reflections of an Unpolitical Man," an earnest and unhappy defense of *Kultur* against such *Zivilisationsliteraten* as his pacifist brother Heinrich. His own arguments for the old order were later ascribed to the authoritarian Naphta, and answered by the humanist Settembrini: "Everything is politics." Thus "The Magic Mountain," written at fifty from the heights of postwar internationalism, broadened the dialectic between art and society. The large-hearted Peeperkorn set an example of brotherhood and sacrifice; the hero, Hans Castorp, singing a *lied* of Schubert, marched off to battle. The Naphta-Settembrini debate could only be settled by force; the liberal fired in the air and the fascist committed suicide. Germany would have to choose, the Russian heroine warned the ambiguous hero. Germany chose soon afterward—and Mann chose the other side. "Mario and the Magician," as early as 1929, dramatized the fall of Italian fascism.

"But if it die," and in 1933, when the first volume of "Joseph and His Brothers" was published, Europe was nearing the crisis, "it beareth much fruit." With the publication of "Joseph the Provider,"[1] the last volume of his tetralogy, Thomas Mann—looking toward his seventieth year and the completion of the Second World War—may be said to have reaped his harvest. His literary self-consciousness, the conviction of his high calling, accentuates the parallel between himself and his hero, and allows him to look—with Joseph's detached attitude of irony and complacency—upon the vicissitudes that have turned his exile into a kind of triumph. One reads of the "gilding," when Joseph was welcomed to the court of Egypt, and thinks of the official encomiums that the Book-of-the-Month Club is doubtless lavishing. A "quaint and comic" people Joseph considered the Egyptians, and Mann in Hollywood knows what it feels like to live in a "monkey-land." He also knows the significance of the gesture he made when he came to America a few years ago: the isolated artist taking out his citizenship papers. And American fiction, with its symbolist traditions, offers an appropriate haven for his writing. We cannot read of the declining Buddenbrooks or Hans Castorp lost in the snow without recalling the ponderous fancy that plays around Judge Pyncheon in "The House of the Seven Gables" or the allegorical zeal that glosses the whiteness of the whale in "Moby Dick."

We are less likely to remember that Mann is still working in the Goethean tradition of the pedagogical novel. That genre, to our way of thinking, is scarcely a novel at all; but today the forms of fiction are changing fast; hagiography has become a best-seller; and it is not impertinent to suggest, of a writer who has just completed a prose narrative of more than two thousand pages, that he is scarcely a novelist. Mann is more interested in projecting ideas than in telling stories. Both "Buddenbrooks" and "The Magic Mountain" were conceived as short stories, and then amplified with Teutonic thoroughness to their encyclopedic scale. As for the Joseph story, it would be hard to improve upon the compact narration of Genesis XXV-L, and Mann has not tried. He is rather a commentator than a narrator; he comments so fully on the circumstances and implications of his theme that little is left for the critic except to admire. Repeating—or perhaps we should say anticipating—Schiller's distinction between simple and sentimental poetry, Mann is poignantly aware of the distance that separates primitive myth from modern knowledge; he bridges it by playing the scholiast, enveloping his text in word-play and numerology, notes and queries, exegetics and homiletics. A full page of Talmudic explication follows the three words, "I am he." Sometimes the reader nods, and sometimes the author, as when photography is invoked. Through such images the reader can visualize, not Joseph, but the author in pith helmet and sun-glasses.

To hold your audience, and discard the habitual devices of the story-teller, is a technical feat few writers can accomplish. Mann does this by sustaining a rich texture, by embroidering what he has called—speaking of Gustav von Aschenbach—a "tapestry-novel." With a virtuosity which we may recognize, if not appreciate, he echoes the sonorities of Luther's German; we may well be grateful for Mrs. Lowe-Porter's skill in handling the comparable English of King James. If the book is not a novel, it is a fruitful collaboration of poetry and scholarship, a brilliant exercise of the historical imagination. Mann is always seeking the symbolic in the temporal, always finding "the eternal present." Writing of the twentieth century A.D., he indicates the typical in a welter of particulars. Writing of the fourteenth century B.C., he particularizes his archetypes, as Joseph candidly admits. Into the deep well of the past Mann has brought his naturalistic equipment; he has brought life out of the tombs that the Egyptologists have excavated; he has created some memorable vistas of the ancient world, not quite so vivid as Flaubert's perhaps, but impressively solid. As if it were yesterday, or indeed today, he has recreated the New Kingdom at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. He even gives us an archeologically accurate glimpse of the charming Nefertiti. And he plausibly identifies the Biblical Pharaoh with the youthful mystic Ikhnaton, whose cult of the sun-god does not seem far removed from prehistoric Jewish monotheism.

[1] **Joseph the Provider, by Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 608 pages. $3.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taking as long a retrospect as the mind can reach, the Joseph cycle is a work of old age. Stately and studied, visionary and discursive, it has the minor key and the complex orchestration, the grand manner and the flagging intensity, that we expect from the later works of the masters. The tale has been told—and Mann's repetitions and anticipations stress the point—not once nor twice but many times. Everything has happened before and will happen again. "After all it was a sacred play," the dying Jacob declares by way of epilogue. Characters enact their parts with the sense of fulfilling a pattern, breaking out into songs and rhymes at the happy ending. Ikhnaton is half-embarrassed in his role of *deus ex machina*, Joseph supremely confident as he reincarnates the mystery of Adonis. Something of a prig, something of a show-off, "not only a prophet but a rogue as well," he has flaunted his marvelous dreams and his coat of many colors. His sin has been self-absorption; the favorite son has held aloof from his brethren. He must learn to place his gifts at the disposal of society, to interpret the dreams of others. Literally he has gone down into the foul pit; figuratively he has gone down into the nether world of Egypt; still a third time he must go down into the house of bondage before he can emerge triumphant, bringing fruitfulness to the land. The downward movement of the first three volumes ripens into the success story of "Joseph the Provider."

For provision is foresight; in telling, as Mann points out, there is an element of foretelling; and his eyes, as he approaches the climax of the epos, turn toward the future. The portentous "Descent into Hell," which introduced the series, is matched by a "Prelude in the Upper Circles," blithely rendered by a prescient angel. The episode of Tamar is interpolated, with its promise for the line of David and the cycle of Jesus. Mann's self-confessed "mania for treatment *ab ovo*" has taken him back to the cradles of civilization in Ur of the Chaldees and the valley of the Nile. His prospect from Pisgah is timely as well as timeless. Reading between the hieroglyphics, it adds up to a planned economy. The stars, the sheaves, the dying grain, the bread and wine of communion, the lean and fat kine of scarcity and abundance—gradually Joseph's prophecies get to sound like the Beveridge Report. And Joseph, no longer a scribe and a slave, is a minister of agriculture with a global conscience, an Egyptian Henry Wallace. His agrarian reforms, his ever-normal granary, his rationing and taxation, his exploitation of the rich barons and liberality toward the little men, his tact with the priests of Amon, his regulation of business, his socialization of property, his Nile Valley Authority, his Office of Price Administration—his platform, in short, gets our vote. Osiris comes forth by day and lo, a New Deal! "And ye shall eat the fat of the land," we read in the Bible and John Steinbeck.

It is strange how so familiar a tale can maintain its suspense; but no recognition-scene is more strongly charged than the meeting between Joseph and his father; and Mann is at his masterly best in treating "the painfully beautiful motif of reunion." The paternal quest of so many modern writers ends here in the patriarch's arms. The *Brüderkrieg* of recurrent folklore resolves in forgiveness and reconciliation. As Joseph fulfils his mission and emerges from Mann's commentary, he is no longer a portrait of the artist, or the culture hero of a persecuted race; he is civilization itself. And Mann, by the unanswerable dialectic of events, has become our most enlightening *Zivilisationsliterat*—not less enlightening because he has brought along, to the heights of his final accomplishment, his darker vision of the depths. His symbol is the Thummim, the synthesis of light and shade, blessing and curse. "What constitutes civilized life is that the binding and traditional depth shall fulfil itself in the freedom of God which belongs to the I," he has learned. Thus life and fertility are the outcome of Mann's tetralogy, where death and destruction were the burden of Wagner's. Always the exponent of German culture, Mann began by evaluating the unhealthy genius of Schiller. Gravitating toward a sounder and more cosmopolitan exemplar, he has lately rehearsed Goethe's quarrel with his short-sighted countrymen: "They think they are Germany—but I am." The words of Faust at the climax of his career, setting the grave-diggers to work on reclamation projects, will also serve for Joseph:

Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn,
Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn.

It is good to be reminded of that other Germany, whose voice now rises with increased authority above the Tohu-Bohu of muddled motives and opportunistic resentments; whose counsel will be profoundly needed in the years of privation and plenty that lie ahead.

HARRY LEVIN

Death and Transfiguration

Prelude to Silence: The End of the German Republic, by Arnold Brecht. New York: Oxford University Press. 156 pages. $2.
Germany: The Last Phase, by Gunnar Pihl. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 323 pages. $3.

THESE TWO OBITUARIES directly touch upon the "what to do with Germany" debate now in full swing. Both deal with the German people. One, somewhat belated, deals with the death of the Weimar Republic; the other, somewhat premature, with the transfiguration of the Nazi tyranny. And whatever differences of opinion there are about the guilt or innocence of the German people in letting the Republic commit suicide, all sides of the debate seem in agreement that the solution of the German problem will to a large extent, if not exclusively, depend on the Germans themselves.

There is much irony in Mr. Brecht's attempt to vindicate German democracy. Despite his elaborate effort to prove by statistics that the vast majority of the German people were anti-fascist until the later part of the twenties, he actually strengthens the thesis of Vansittartism. The Germans may have been anti-fascist, but what most of them lacked was that passionate will *to fight for democracy*, at whatever cost, which animated the democratic masses of Spain.

Mr. Brecht's autobiographical sketch in the preface gives greater insight into the reasons for the success of German fascism than the remainder of his book, which contains little that is new. Speaking of his profession as a German civil servant, he writes:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are We to Face a Third World War?

How can we build a world organization that will give us permanent peace? There are many plans. What especially distinguishes Dr. Shotwell's proposals is the realistic and informed experience in international affairs which he brings to the problem, in a plan that may save future generations from a world perpetually at war.

The GREAT DECISION

By James T. Shotwell

DR. SHOTWELL, who is Director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Bryce Professor of the History of International Relations in Columbia University, here makes perhaps the most solid contribution yet offered toward the ideal of world peace. $3.00

"Our victory over the Axis powers can be made a victory over war itself, if we bring to the support of peace the same kind of realistic strategy which we devote to war."—From the foreword of *The Great Decision*. Dr. Shotwell's brilliant interpretations of the happenings of the past and the present lend enormous strength to his forecast of what can, and must, be done.

The Day Is Coming

By William Cameron

Great figures—William Morris, Oscar Wilde, G. B. Shaw, and others of the earlier socialists—march through the pages of this mature, full-blooded, and deeply thoughtful novel. But it is essentially a story of the *people* and their heroic struggle toward an ideal. $3.00

Against Oblivion

By Sheila Birkenhead

This lively biography of Joseph Severn, artist friend of Keats and himself a man of brilliance, includes such figures as Shelley, Trelawny, Gladstone, and Ruskin, as well as the members of Keats' circle. "Full of quiet vivacity and insight."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune* $3.00

The Idea of Nationalism

By Hans Kohn

"The most brilliant, all-inclusive and incisive analysis of the ideological origins of nationalism which has yet appeared in any language." — *New York Times*. "One of the major expositions of political ideas . . . the finest study of nationalism yet published."—*Harry Hansen* $7.50

RUSSIA and the Peace

By Bernard Pares

The author has devoted his life to knowing Russia and her people. This is his shrewd and unbiased reply to what the public wants most to know about Russia and the particular aspects of our relationship to the Soviet Union which are of greatest interest to Americans. $2.50

THE MACMILLAN CO.

60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

The House of Macmillan: 1843-1943

Charles Morgan

A candid picture of one hundred years of publishing by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, in which many letters and readers' reports appear for the first time. $3.00

Behold the Jew

By Ada Jackson

Here is an honest and deeply moving poem in praise of the Jew by a Gentile. What this famous English poet says is echoed by people of good will the world over. $1.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Within constitutional limits, however, I did cling to neutral aloofness from party politics in public life. . . . I never was a party member, nor did I participate in party campaigns. I even disliked accepting positions that would force me too closely into the politics of individual parties. . . . I knew too well how gravely political and organizational shortcomings blocked productive work of ministers and their undersecretaries. . . . This distance from everyday politics tended to increase my independence and my objectivity.

Mr. Brecht fails to realize that what he says of himself was indeed the curse of the German people. Politics is dirty business, he says in effect. This was the attitude not only of civil servants, but of lawyers, doctors, small business men, trade-union leaders, journalists and scholars as well. Like Mr. Brecht, they were genuinely republican and anti-fascist. But they were *passive* democrats. "Neutral aloofness," "independence" and "objectivity" seemed to prevent them from facing the consequences of their convictions. In the meantime Germany's big business men, militarists, landowning Junkers and pseudo-intellectual rabble did not shrink from politics, but maligned and undermined the Republic, finally handing it over to the Führer.

Seeking to justify the publication of his book at this time, Mr. Brecht criticizes other authors for not describing what modern psychologists call the "field" which "determined the meaning of events for the actors on the scene, or the conditions that limited the possibilities of action." But he does not heed his own criticism. His preoccupation with the technical shortcomings of the Weimar Constitution, as a civil servant during the Republic and as a scholar in exile, causes him to be fascinated by the "legal" procedures through adept use of which the Nazis entrenched themselves in power.

The first thing the Germans must learn, if they want democracy, is that democracy implies more than electoral devices, constitutional guarantees, administrative perfection or laws for the protection of the republic. Will and can they learn this lesson? Mr. Pihl, in his excellent report of wartime Germany, does not answer this question. He seems to think that as "the ravages and burdens of war have made life in Germany more like life in Russia than in any other belligerent country," Germany may go communist rather than democratic. "No one can say with certainty, or even approximately, how many Communists, Social Democrats, liberals and conservatives there are in Germany. It is easiest to say how many Nazis there are. They are the fewest," he says. This, at least, is encouraging.

Mr. Pihl's is the second report by a Swedish newspaperman on wartime Germany. In contrast to Arvid Fredborg's "Behind the Steel Wall," which was stuffy and pompous, Pihl's account is not only better written, but also more informative. Pihl certainly had his ear closer to the ground than his colleague. His wit, satire and facetiousness are bitterly critical. He is less concerned than Fredborg with the endless apologies and harangues of Nazi officialdom, and more with the wretchedness of life among the common people. It is to be hoped that Fredborg's overpublicized report has not exhausted the market for "inside Germany" books, of which Pihl's is one of the best.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Doubly Damned

Martin Dies, by William Gellermann. New York: The John Day Company. 310 pages. $3.
The Dies Committee, by Brother August Raymond Ogden. Washington: Murray and Heister. 295 pages. $2.

MOST WRITING about the Dies Committee has been partisan. Mr. Gellermann's book fits into that category although he has done careful research and presents a pretty accurate picture of the committee. He can find little good in Martin Dies or in the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American activities. He thinks that Dies "has used the hearings, the reports, his press releases, speeches, radio addresses and his book to red-bait the Roosevelt administration and all progressive organizations." The greatest danger from the committee, he says, has been in the effort of Dies to convince the country that "there are certain areas of human thought in which there are 'right' answers to be accepted by all Americans, and that those who do not conform should be 'exposed' as 'subversive' and subjected to rigorous governmental publicity at public expense."

Brother August Raymond Ogden's book is the more powerful, it seems to me, because it is written by a Catholic priest, by a man who believes that there is need for a committee on un-American activities and by one who attempts to weigh impartially the accomplishments of the Dies Committee. His conclusion, which is that the committee should be abolished, is, therefore, all the more devastating. Gellermann's book is more lively and a tract more than a treatise. But the priest's study is more satisfying for the person who wants to know the nature of this committee, the source of its support and some explanation why Congress has so overwhelmingly endorsed it ever since its creation in 1938.

Ogden says in his preface that he has borne in mind throughout that "a good end never justifies improper means." On the next to last page he says that the committee "brought confusion to the very situation that it had been created to clarify." The danger of un-American activity is still present, he believes, but

> without disparaging the accomplishments of the committee or impugning the motives of any person connected with it, it seems that the Congress should discontinue the Dies Committee as the first step to a solution of the very difficult problem facing it. Improvement in the procedure of the Dies Committee cannot be recommended because its past history does not furnish any guarantee that such improvement would be permanent or . . . that the committee could be expected to change its ways.

Ogden's work first appeared as a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America and has been privately printed. Now that the committee is doomed anyway, Ogden's book is of considerably greater importance than Gellermann's, which came too late to carry much weight, as intended, in the final fight against Dies. Neither book, incidentally, mentions John Folger, a relatively unknown Representative from North Carolina who is responsible for more votes against Dies in the House than any other individual. Folger's fight against the committee was quiet, courageous and effective. He deserves more recognition.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tomorrow's America

The Rest of Your Life, by Leo Cherne. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 291 pages. $2.75.

LEO CHERNE is one of the more able practitioners of the art of economic prophecy. In this volume of easy predictions he reveals a hard-boiled sense of reality which is quite refreshing in this age of expansive postwar plans. Mr. Cherne does not promise egg-shaped autos or layer-cake houses. Foreseeing few radical changes in the physical appearance of American life, he argues that the six million missing bathtubs will not be forthcoming as readily as advertisers would have us believe. The auto of the future will look very much like the auto of the past and the flight of the helicopter will still be something to dream about.

Yet the arresting picture of the things we will not have after the war is not the main substance of this book. It is Mr. Cherne's penetrating understanding of the forces which are now shaping the temper of the American mind that makes his volume so interesting. He weighs those forces in terms of an ever widening gap between our beliefs and our behavior. The American people will want things done: they will want peace and homes and jobs, but they will do little to fulfill those wants. We are promised rather an atmosphere of perennial tension. And the most important single fact in that postwar milieu will be the unanswerable demand of twelve million servicemen for a place in society.

The spiritual emptiness of army life will have deeply affected the thinking habits of many men. "The monotonous continuity of the same uniform . . . the endless training and waiting and orders and canceled leaves and clean-ups . . . the walls of rotogravure girls simulating life, the lonesome dependence on letters, the day-in, day-out sameness of the talk . . . do things to a young mind. Attitudes for a lifetime will flow from this maelstrom of jangled interests." The attitudes that such living generates, Mr. Cherne suggests, are shown by the average serviceman's indifference toward the issues of the peace. A kind of cynicism that blossoms only in an era of spiritual slack is reflected here. And it frighteningly parallels (a parallel that Mr. Cherne fails to underline) the void in Germany after the last war. That void was filled by the armed *intellektueller*. The emptiness here may be easily filled in the same way.

The only specific we have to prevent the growth of that atmosphere, the atmosphere of fascism, is employment. But jobs for twelve million men will depend on the smooth reconversion of industry to normal peacetime production. Mr. Cherne expects anything but that. In fact, he says, business men will prefer to "wait and see." In the meantime, we can begin to worry about the postwar unemployed.

Monopoly, says the author, is here to stay. Wartime concentration of prime contracts has actually strengthened the larger firms. Government plants in the aluminum, magnesium, machine-tool, airplane, synthetic-rubber and other industries will be unloaded, leaving the economic field to private enterprise. Economic insecurity, internecine quarrels and public antagonisms will weaken both the AFL and the CIO. The prediction is ventured that organized labor will fight a continual rear-guard action and will be forced to relinquish many of the gains so painfully won during the last decade.

Mr. Cherne broadens his forecast with a kaleidoscopic review of the future of housing, transportation and medical science. Better homes and faster trains will not, however, conquer the enemy within us, says the author. The little fascist in the American soul needs but the soil of dissension in which to sprout. And Mr. Cherne promises a bitter fruit. This is his tomorrow. His predictions are shrouded in pessimism, but they are so frightfully accurate.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

A Reader's List

THE SOVIET FAR EAST AND CENTRAL ASIA, by William Mandel (Dial, $2.50). Although the area treated in this carefully prepared study does not figure very prominently in the news these days, its importance in the Soviet war effort must not be underestimated. For the Soviet Far East and Central Asia constitute a wealthy arsenal for the Russian armies on the western front. Oil, pig iron, coal, lumber, fish and fur are among the items exported west. Transportation difficulties and sparse settlement are the main obstacles to full exploitation. The book's limitations are not the author's fault, but result from the scarcity of available material. Nevertheless, he gives a well rounded bird's-eye view of the cultural, historical and administrative development of an area whose social frontiers have not as yet been reached.

STAGE PLAYS

CRITICS' PRIZE PLAY THE THEATRE GUILD presents (in association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL – S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN — OSCAR KARLWEIS — ANNABELLA
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
AIR COND. MARTIN BECK THEATRE — 45th W. of 8th Ave. Evgs., 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.
AIR CONDITIONED

INVENTS BIRTH CONTROL

Slide rule, important in the determination of woman's periods of sterility and fertility. The birth control slide rule, invented by Dr. Francis W. Baxter, consulting psychologist, shows these periods at a glance and its use offers a dependable, ethical and healthful method of controlling conception. Leading ecclesiastical and medical authorities endorse it. Stop using harmful, unreliable and costly contraceptives. Order the birth control slide rule now. Simple to use; details fully explained. As a limited special offer, send only two dollars to DR. FRANCIS W. BAXTER, Socioanalytic Research League, One Sixteen E. 11th Street, New York City 3, N. Y. If over twenty-one, send at once.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HOUSE OF MACMILLAN (1843-1943), by Charles Morgan (Macmillan, $3). To Charles Morgan has fallen the thankless task of writing the Hundredth Anniversary history of the Macmillan Company of England. In a manner at once boasting and apologetic, Morgan lists the titles and special editions which Macmillan has published. He describes the rise of the Macmillan family and fortune and attempts to explain the persistent Victorian caution that refused the early books of authors who might be controversial (Hardy, Yeats, Shaw and Wells) but usually managed to gather them under the company's wing once their reputations were established. The Macmillan imprint has graced many important works (one may name Fraser's "Golden Bough" and Keynes's economic treatises as well as many texts and travel series); but the value of this particular book, especially during wartime, is dubious. The material covered, veering from biography to catalogue to criticism, demands a great deal more space and a more genuinely uncommissioned interest from the author.

Crime and Punishment

ODD MAN PAYS, by Darwin L. Teilhet (Little, Brown, $2.50). This is a feverish number about an AAF lieutenant in England (1943) who tangles with a pretty incredible Nazi espionage ring. The fantastic goings-on may make you hold on to your hat, but a solution is finally provided. Major Teilhet's facility in conveying atmosphere and fast action saves him; however, at $2.50 a throw, it seems as if a little editing could have been thrown in.

DOGWATCH, by Carlyn Coffin (Farrar and Rinehart, $2). This is a spy story with a difference: it could have happened. Mrs. Linton, widow, 52 and no fool, and her dog Genevieve, young and silly, have their suspicions aroused by some queer occurrences in Oldchester, on the Connecticut shore. Mostly by using horse sense, Mrs. Linton, her son and two men from the FBI expose an extremely clever Nazi plot against our convoys. A refreshing change, in both the writing and the plotting, from most espionage yarns.

Contributors

Joseph Rosenfarb, the labor-research editor of the Research Institute of America, is the author, among other books, of "Highway to Tokyo" and frequently contributes articles on military subjects to the magazines.

H. N. Brailsford, a contributing editor of The New Republic, is a widely known British writer on history, economics and international affairs. His article in this issue is taken from his new book, "Our Settlement with Germany," which will be published in October by the John Day Company.

James E. Murray, the progressive Democratic Senator from Montana, was elected in 1934 to fill the unexpired term of Thomas J. Walsh and was reëlected in 1936 and 1942. He is a co-author of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, discussed in his article.

Karl R. Korstad is a sergeant in the Medical Detachment at the Stark General Hospital, where he does public-relations work and edits the camp newspaper. Prior to his induction, he taught Semantics and Modern Literature at Syracuse University.

Lieutenant Morton Yarmon is identified in an editor's note preceding his poem in this issue.

Jerry H. Voorhis, the Representative from California's Twelfth District, polled a perfect vote for progressivism, tabulated in our recent supplement on Congress. He is the author of "Beyond Victory," which deals with postwar planning, international affairs, imperialism and monopoly.

Harry Levin is an associate professor of English at Harvard and the author of "James Joyce: A Critical Introduction." He has recently revised the translation and contributed an introduction to the New Classics edition of Flaubert's "Three Tales," published this month by New Directions.

Carroll Kilpatrick is on the Washington staff of The Chicago Sun.

Ben B. Seligman, formerly an instructor in economics, is a commodity analyst for the OPA. He is a regular contributor to The New Republic.

RESORT

GREEN MANSIONS

Diversified program for a splendid vacation—for a day, week or season. Golf course on premises.

Make Reservations Now!

LENA BARISH-SAM GARLEN
Directors

N. Y. Office: 11 W. 42nd St.
Tel: Br. 9-1738
Write for booklet

GREEN MANSIONS
In the Adirondacks
WARRENSBURG, New York

RESORTS

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping-pong, square dancing; intelligent, gay companionship.
$38 and $42 weekly Opening—June 23
Olive H. G. Baron, Dir.

HILLTOP LODGE
ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE
R. R. Sta., Pawling, N.Y.
HOPEWELL JUNCTION, N. Y.
Only 65 Miles from New York City
Every Sport & Recreation • Golf Free
F. Wolfson and S. Rothauser, Dir.
N. Y. Office: 277 Broadway • CO 7-3958

CABINS FOR RENT

GRANITE LAKE CABINS: Each with private bath. Simmons Beds. Swimming and boating. Excellent food. $60 a week double. Adults only. Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire.

LANGUAGES

PHONOGRAPH RECORD COURSES. All Makes. Booklet R. LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st St., New York City 17, N. Y.

WAR BONDS AND STAMPS
Buy a share in AMERICA. Invest in your country and help win the war. Get the Victory Habit—buy War Bonds and Stamps every pay day.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

SMILING HILLS CAMP
EAST STROUDSBURG, PA.
A progressive camp for boys and girls, from 4 to 12 years of age. All activities. Non-sectarian. Non-regimented. Individual care. (Limited to 50 campers.)
Write: James & Nellie Dick, Modern School, 115 Cary Street, Lakewood, N. J.
PHONE 1007

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

IT'S TRUE!

When a single Army division goes overseas, it carries about 150,000 tons of supplies . . . and there are 700,000 items made wrapped with paper . . . And waste paper is dangerously scarce today!
SAVE WASTE PAPER!

SAVE A BUNDLE A WEEK
SAVE SOME GOOD PAPER

U. S. Victory
WASTE PAPER Campaign

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED